JAIME de ANGULO JOHN PECK

THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 7, 1974 50 cents

Labor in '74
Once Again a Movement

MEANY AND OTHER PROBLEMS
Emil Mazey

EXIT LOVESTONE THE ALIENATOR
B.J. Widick

STEEL: NO-STRIKE AND OTHER DEALS
George Bogdanich

MINE SAFETY AND STRIP MINING
Duane Lockard

THE BLACK PARTNERS
William Lucy

GOMPERS & DEBS: A DIALOGUE
Albert Fried

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LETTERS

START unconstitutional

Marion, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: On July 31, U.S. District Judge James Oliver gave the long-awaited legal opinion on the controversial START Behavior Modification Unit. Judge Oliver ruled the program to be unconstitutional, officially closing that program.

START was resisted and protested against for two years. On behalf of all of the START brothers I extend much thanks to the legal support from the National Prison Project lawyers, Washington, D.C., who represented us. Also to the many movement presses that gave us wide publicity and support. And to the beautiful masses of people who firmly supported our stand. All who made this legal victory possible. We urge all of you, along with us, to continue such support to all prisoners resisting such programs or any injustices. We do not claim this as a personal victory but rather as a people's victory. It could not have been done without you.

We love you and appreciate you and extend to all revolutionary love and solidarity. *Eddie Sanchez*

Readers may remember "The Case of the Frightened Prisoner" (*The Nation*, Dec. 3, 1973), in which Clay Steinman described what happened to Eddie Sanchez when he resisted the START program. He quoted Sanchez as writing to an ACLU lawyer: "My statement is if I die it will not be a suicide, it will be a murder." It is a relief to know that Sanchez is alive and, at least on this issue, victorious.

—The Editors

Reagan and the actors

Berwick-Upon-Tweed, England

DEAR SIRS: The excellent article by Daniel J. Biederman entitled "The Making of a Zealot" (*The Nation*, June 22), corresponded accurately with my recollection except on one minor point. Actors Henreid, Hepburn, Cronyn, Robinson and myself did not "oppose the Guild's strike policy." We opposed the change in that policy from neutrality to an active support of the position of the Producers' Association. The people who opposed the Guild's strike policy were Reagan and his friends, who were content to see the Guild a tool of the association.

Alexander Knox

Martha was first

DEAR SIRS: How could you forget Martha Mitchell in your editorial list of credits? I depend on *The Nation* to be thorough and thoughtful. . . . Martha Mitchell was the first to shake us out of our complacency and blow the cover on the thugs by calling them by their rightful names. But when it was only a woman that they abused, it was discounted. No one in Watergate has suffered as she has, and no one has had less credit—a terrible kind of snobbery. She is an outcast who has lost everything, including her daughter, and all emotional and economic support. Nixon loses none of that! At least she has a place in our files which we are trying to microfilm for use in public libraries (because we are going out of business due to lack of funds). We'd be glad for people to send material on her, and tax-deductible donations for the filming and distribution of our Law Microfilm to Women's History Library, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, Calif. 94708. *Laura X, Director*

about LBJ

DEAR SIRS: I am writing a biography of Lyndon B. Johnson, 1908-73, under contract with W.W. Norton, Inc., and I would appreciate any memories, stories or letters. Please write to 1017 West 31 St., Austin, Tex. 78705.

Ronnie Dugger

EDITORIALS

Nixon's Tax Returns: Fraud?

Last April 3, when it issued its massive report on President Nixon's 1969-72 tax returns, the staff of the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation declined, in view of the pending impeachment inquiry, to comment on the question of fraud. A day earlier, however, Donald C. Alexander, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, had asked Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski to initiate a grand jury investigation for criminal tax fraud.

Did Mr. Nixon commit fraud in claiming a tax deduction on his 1969 return for a gift of papers valued at $576,000? Randolph Paul, the dean of modern taxation, pinpoints the essential elements of illegal "evasion" (fraud): " . . . if there is evasion, there will be subterfuge, camouflage, concealment, some attempt to color obscure events or make things seem other than they are."

Early in 1969, Congress began to consider tax reform legislation which would be likely to affect the deduction for gifts of papers of public officials. But no one—not even President Nixon—could divine the cutoff date. This posed a dilemma. If he made a gift of papers early in 1969, he would run the risk of losing the papers as well as the deduction, should Congress set the cutoff date at January 1, 1969.

Three options were conceivable: (*1*) an immediate gift —but running the risk of a January 1, 1969 cutoff date; (*2*) deferring a decision to make the gift, pending legislative developments—also risking a retroactive cutoff date; and (*3*) an "ambiguous" maneuver which could be construed to constitute a gift while avoiding commitment, thus retaining freedom of action. Because of the dual function of the National Archives, which serve as a storage vault for papers of public officials as well as a recipient of gifts of papers donated to the United States, the third arrangement offered opportunities.

Then followed these events:

(*1*) On March 26-27, 1969, pre-Presidential papers measuring 1,217 cubic feet were transferred to the National Archives. Nixon claimed on his return that the date of this delivery was the date of the gift.

(*2*) The deed was deliberately dated March 27, 1969 (coinciding with the date of delivery) but it was retained in the office of the President's attorney. The deed, differing from the traditional National Archives form, did not require acceptance by the National Archives; this preserved options and pre-empted the involvement of the National Archives.

(*3*) The deed was signed by Edward Morgan, a deputy counsel to the President, but was not signed by Mr. Nixon; this permitted a disclaimer of responsibility, should that prove necessary.

(*4*) In April 1970, the particular papers designated as a gift were identified for the first time by the President's appraiser, Ralph Newman.

(*5*) The 1969 tax return filed by President Nixon stated that there were no restrictions on the gift, although of two versions of the deed prepared by his attorney, Nixon personally chose the one with restrictions.

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(6) The 1969 return stated that the gift was made on March 27, 1969—prior to the cutoff date of July 25, 1969, finally set by Congress.

Another coincidence: the deed was signed by Edward Morgan on April 10, 1970, in his office at the White House, the very day Mr. Nixon signed the tax return. Frank DeMarco, the President's attorney, testified that on April 10 he led President Nixon through a cursory examination of each page of his return and that the President's comment at most of the pages was, "That's fine."

Mary Livingston, an assistant archivist for the Presidential Libraries, stated to the staff of the Joint Committee that on April 6, 1970, the President's appraiser, Ralph Newman, telephoned her and requested that she identify 600,000 items for deeding by the President, asking her not to refer the matter to her superiors, for "it would be better for his purposes and for the White House if this were a transaction between him and me."

Do not these events, viewed *in toto*, raise a serious question as to whether there were "subterfuge, camouflage, concealment, some attempt to color obscure events or make things seem other than they are"?

JOSEPH H. CROWN

Mr. Crown, a New York attorney, is tax counsel to the law firm of Tenzer, Greenblatt, Fallon & Kaplan.

Window on the CIA

Recently the CIA released a story about one of its agents who, in "a drunk and despondent" moment, had blown the cover on one of its Western Hemisphere operations by babbling to a KGB agent in Cuba. The story, it is now clear, was designed to discredit the former agent before he could come in from the cold and tell all. The former agent turns out to be Philip B.F. Agee. Now living abroad, Agee served for twelve years as an agent with the CIA in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico after graduating from the University of Notre Dame. He is completing a book which Penguin will publish in Britain next spring. The "drunk and despondent" story is dismissed by Agee as nonsense and he denies that he ever talked to the KGB, although he readily admits having made three trips to Cuba in 1971. He resigned from the CIA in 1969 because, so he says, he had become thoroughly disenchanted with its activities. Now he proposes to tell "what we did in Latin America, why we did it, why I quit and why I decided to write about it." In recent interviews Agee has said that he personally funneled $200,000 from a New York bank into Eduardo Frei's 1964 campaign; Frei won that election. He estimates that this country poured $20 million into the 1962 Brazilian election and tells an interesting story about how he participated in a pressure campaign to compel Ecuador's President Arosemena to break relations with Cuba. Of particular interest is his statement that he served as case officer of the CIA in its relations with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, long headed by Jay Lovestone. These tidbits suggest that Agee's book should make quite a stir when published—that is, if copies will be available here.

There was never much doubt that the AIFLD has had

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close ties with the CIA; several *Nation* articles said as much. But the denials were usually ferocious. Recently Fred Hirsch, a rank-and-file member of a West Coast union, published a pamphlet on the role of the AFL-CIO in Latin America subtitled, "Under Covers with the CIA" (copies can be obtained from the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile, 316 S. 19th Street, San Jose, Calif. 95116). Publication of the pamphlet prompted the Santa Clara County Labor Council to adopt a resolution requesting a response from the national headquarters of the AFL-CIO. So William C. Doherty, Jr. of AIFLD came to San Jose, pounded the table, and demanded that the council reconsider its action. His request was not acted on, nor need it be now, in view of Mr. Agee's disclosures.

Not only has the CIA given American labor a bad name in Latin America but it has cast a shadow on American business executives in Europe, many of whom are now regarded as CIA agents. Even if the rather common practice of asking American overseas corporations to provide "cover" for CIA agents is discontinued, it will be years before the suspicions abate. Reports from Lisbon since the recent coup indicate that the Portuguese regard even the most innocent American business, cultural and scientific representatives with dark misgivings.

Against this background the need for a thorough overhaul of the CIA has become imperative. Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi, chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Intelligence, has introduced HR 15845, based on the committee's report, which seeks to clarify the role of the CIA in national security. Rep. Michael Harrington would like to see a fifteen-member House committee on intelligence established which would meet monthly to supervise the CIA and keep a tight rein on its activities. Such proposals are worth consideration but do not go far enough. Harry Rositzke, who served in the OSS and CIA for twenty-six years, has suggested *(Los Angeles Times)* that the secret activities of the CIA should be sharply curtailed. He sees merit in making certain types of intelligence reports available to the public, such as satellite photographs, national intelligence estimates and current intelligence reports. And a fundamental issue is raised in the action filed by William B. Richardson of Greensburg, Pa. in which, as a citizen and taxpayer, he sought to find out how much the CIA spends and for what.

The Supreme Court, in a recent 6-to-3 ruling, decided that Richardson had no standing to bring such an action. But the dissent of Justice Douglas deserves to be widely read and discussed (Justices Marshall and Stewart also dissented). "History shows," he notes, "that the curse of government is not always venality; secrecy is one of the most tempting cover-ups to save regimes from criticism." Richardson was not seeking to force the disclosure of any secrets; he merely wanted to know the amount of tax money that was being spent by the CIA and for what purposes, a request that would seem to be entirely reasonable in view of Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution. Justice Douglas quotes with approval what James McHenry said during the Maryland debate on the Constitution: "The people who give their money ought to know in what manner it is being expended." Fair enough; but Congress has not seen fit to apply this maxim to the CIA since the agency was established in the late 1940s.

Barkan's Bulldozer

For several months now, columns and articles have been appearing on the general subject of "the new Bob Strauss," late-blooming friend of Democratic Party liberals, reformers and New Politics partisans. Documentary evidence for this miraculous transformation was usually thin, but observers invariably concluded their pieces by quoting COPE Executive Director Al Barkan that making Robert Strauss chairman of the Democratic National Committee was "the biggest mistake I ever made."

The "new" Robert Strauss turned out to be about as new as the "new" Nixon. Miffed when the March meeting of the Democratic Charter Commission voted 38 to 37—with Chairman Terry Sanford casting the tie-breaking vote—to mandate a quadrennial Midterm Policy Conference (*The Nation*, April 6), Strauss vowed publicly to reverse that mandate at the fifth and final meeting of the commission in Kansas City, Mo., August 16-18. Once again joining forces with Barkan, Strauss mobilized the staff of the national committee in the effort. Violating at least the spirit of the charter commission's no-proxy rule, a dozen "resignations" were solicited by the DNC and the members were replaced from a list prepared by Barkan.

At Kansas City, the coalition of AFL-CIO representatives, machine regulars and Southern conservatives had a wide margin in the voting and plenty of staff help. Barkan's aide, John Perkins, was there, as was Strauss's top assistant, Mark Siegel, and various other Jackson-for-President leftovers, like the clean-cut young "Socialists" of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. On the first day of the session, Evelyn Dubrow, the ILGWU's Washington lobbyist, and a floor leader of charter commission conservatives, distributed a list of proposed changes in the draft charter that had been approved in Washington in March. It included Strauss's main objections, but went on to provide for reintroduction of winner-take-all primaries and unit-rule voting, as well as a ban on proportional representation.

The votes taken on the first day, making the Midterm Policy Conference optional and limiting the jurisdiction of the proposed party Judicial Council, were not even close. And as the conservatives began to roll up majorities of thirty and forty votes, it became clear that they had the power to make whatever changes they wanted in a document that had involved eighteen months of work and many compromises entered into in good faith among widely divergent factions in the party. Words like "vindictiveness" and "double-cross" peppered the debate, as the mood of the liberals and reformers turned increasingly sour. Finally, Molly Yard Garrett, of Pittsburgh, went to the floor microphone and said what was on a lot of people's minds. "I'm not a 'kook' and I'm not a 'crazy,' " boomed the middle-aged Mrs. Garrett, "regardless of what Al Barkan might think. And I'm not going to be run out of the party. But if that's the gauntlet he's throwing down, well then, so be it."

Throughout the night that followed moderate members of the commission, most notably three state party chairmen, prevailed on the labor people directly, and then on Strauss, to intervene with Barkan to ease up some on the remainder of their list of "modifications." But Barkan,

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Perkins and Dubrow were adamant: no compromises.

On Sunday, the second and last day of the full commission meeting, the conservatives fudged their proposed changes on affirmative action in a last-minute attempt to avoid a threatened walkout of black commission members. However, on the motion of the wife of a Maryland AFL-CIO official, they began consideration of the unit-rule and winner-take-all primaries. At this, the blacks walked out anyway, joined by a number of liberals and reform members. Chairman Sanford, not eager to see the remainder of the charter disemboweled, quietly passed the word to one of the remaining liberal delegates on the floor that he believed that a quorum was no longer present. It wasn't, and Sanford let fall a quick gavel, forestalling any further changes until the 2,000 delegates to the National Policy Conference return to Kansas City on December 6. "*Some* of those bastards," muttered Sanford, as he left the room, "just don't know when to quit." MARK PINSKY

Coalition for Full Employment

New York

The struggle to create genuine full employment in America took a major step forward this summer when dozens of leaders and representatives from a wide range of organizations and movements met to establish the National Committee for Full Employment Without Inflation. The meeting, jointly sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change and the National Committee for Public Service Employment, quickly established the committee, defined its initial structure and began to focus on the task ahead. By the time it was over, the committee was in a real sense already in operation.

Responding to a call from Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., an impressive span of major leaders including Senators Kennedy, Mondale and Javits, along with figures like Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles and Gloria Steinem agreed to serve as sponsors of the meeting. Their invitations drew leaders and representatives of major unions, black, church and women's organizations and individuals representing in total literally millions of Americans. A "Committee of 100," with Mrs. King and Murray Finley, the new president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as its elected co-chairpersons, is now establishing a permanent steering committee and task forces in the economic and legislative areas.

The task will not be easy. Unlike national health insurance or certain other legislative goals, full employment is not yet well understood or accepted. Although a panel of economists, including Leon Keyserling and Robert Lekachman, told the committee that genuine full employment can be achieved without inflation or massive increases in personal taxes, the opposite belief is so widespread that the phrase, "without inflation" was felt a necessary addition to the committee's name. Since the design of any full-employment program must deal with inflation, taxes and budget priorities, in fact with the whole economy, the committee's work must draw it into broad issues of social and economic justice for all Americans.

Despite the size of the challenge, however, there are grounds for optimism. The current economic uncertainty is responsible for a growing recognition in all sectors of the population that major change is needed. And perhaps most encouraging is the broad response from across the country, to the committee itself. One participant, looking over the long list of trade union leaders and representatives, black political and organizational groups, church and women's groups and noted figures from political and academic life, commented: "It's been years since any issue has drawn together this kind of coalition. Full employment is obviously an issue whose time has come."

J. Bronowski

J. Bronowski was a man of many gifts: poet, scientist, administrator, man of letters (*William Blake: A Man Without a Mask*, 1944, one of the finest studies of Blake; *The Poet's Defence*, 1966, on the concept of poetry from Sidney to Yeats); historian (*The Western Intellectual Tradition*, with Bruce Mazlish, 1960); playwright (*The Face of Violence*, 1955, a radio play, "a portrait of the motives and manifestations of violence in modern society," published with an essay more important than the play and reissued in a new edition in 1967), and journalist of science (*The Common Sense of Science*, 1953; *Science and Human Values*, 1956; *Insight: Ideas of Modern Science*, 1964, and *The Ascent of Man*, 1974).

A brilliant lecturer—those who heard the series he gave at the Museum of Natural History in New York will not soon forget the experience—he was an almost unrivaled expositor of ideas: witness the programs he conducted for the BBC before his injury in a car accident cut short that series. As a journalist of science he had no peer. After *The Nation* published as a special issue "Science and Human Values"—in its way a historic breakthrough in moral philosophy—it appeared in this country in hard cover and paperback editions and eventually in hard cover and paperback editions in Great Britain, where, in fact, it had first been published by *Universities Quarterly*. After *The Nation* ran it, this remarkable essay traveled around the world and has had an extraordinary influence on what people, including scientists themselves, think about science and scientists.

As further evidence of Bronowski's many talents, P.M.S. Blackett, who also died recently, credited his theoretical work with the success of Operation Monte Carlo in World War II. Blackett felt that air power could be used most effectively over water, not land, and Bronowski's application of probability theory made it possible for the British to break the back of the German submarine offensive. The statistical groups studying the effects of bombing on industry and the economy, which Bronowski headed during World War II, are often mentioned as pioneers in what is now known as "operations research." He had been trained as a mathematician at Cambridge.

Somewhat annoyed by Lord Clark's famous lectures on "Civilisation," in which science is scarcely mentioned, Bronowski induced the BBC to let him describe the place of science in human history in a thirteen-part television program first broadcast in Britain from May through July 1973, and later in Canada. These lectures comprise *The Ascent of Man*, of which *The Nation* published the con-

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cluding chapter. Along with "Science and Human Values," these essays are among the most important statements of our time about science and its meaning for mankind.

As a person Bronowski was warm, outgoing, kindly, witty and wise. Perhaps his greatest gift as a writer was for the kind of statement that, once read, forever haunts one's memory. For example, this statement comes from *The Face of Violence*: "Vice is a personal disfigurement, but violence is an impulse which we all share. The love of violence is the ancient and symbolic gesture of man against the constraints of society. Vicious men can exploit the impulse, but it is a disaster to treat the impulse as vicious. For no society is strong which does not acknowledge the protesting man; and no man is human who does not draw strength from the natural animal. Violence is the sphinx by the fireside, and she has a human face."

LABOR IN '74: Once Again a Movement

1. Meany and Other Problems

EMIL MAZEY

Mr. Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, has been a member of its International Executive Board for nearly a quarter of a century. Throughout these years *The Nation* has had occasion to admire his independence and integrity, qualities for which he is well known in the labor movement. So in preparing this special issue we decided to pose some questions to him on aspects of the American labor movement today. —*The Editors*

How do you assess the state of the American labor movement today? Why is the total membership not growing as fast as the nation's labor force?

The American labor movement is not growing as fast as it should because of the lack of concern for organizing the unorganized expressed by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Meany, in an interview with *U.S. News & World Report* on February 21, 1972, was quoted as follows:

Q. Mr. Meany, what is the state of the union movement today? Why is total membership not growing as fast as the country's labor force?

A. I don't know, I don't care.

Q. You don't care? Why not?

A. We have never had a large proportion of the work force in this country—nothing like Britain, nothing like the Scandinavian countries, nothing like the Germans.

Q. Would you prefer to to have a larger proportion?

A. Not necessarily. We've done quite well without it. And we are not tied to any political party, and we feel that we've got along without that, too. We've delivered more to the American worker than any labor movement that ever existed—today, yesterday or in the past—and we inherited a good deal of our labor movement: its principles from the Germans and, to a lesser extent, from the British.

With all of our complaints, we have the highest standard of living in the world.

Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not appear to want to be organized? If they prefer to have others speak for them and make the decisions which affect their lives, without effective participation on their part, that is their right.

Q. If unions do not keep pace with the growth of the work force, will organized labor's influence be reduced?

A. We made tremendous strides in this country under [Samuel] Gompers, and his percentage of the labor force was very tiny compared with what we've got now.

Frankly, I used to worry about the membership, about the size of the membership. But quite a few years ago I just stopped worrying about it, because to me it doesn't make any difference. It's the organized voice that counts —and it's not just in legislation, it's any place. The organized fellow is the fellow that counts. This is just human nature.

I believe that his philosophy is incorrect. The labor movement has a responsibility and an obligation to do everything it can to organize the total labor force and to bring the benefits of democratic unionism to every man and woman who works for a living.

The American labor movement, or at least the AFL-CIO, appears to be largely isolated and to have little influence in the non-Communist world, according to some reports. Do you agree? If so, how do you account for this isolation? Also, how do you assess the relations between American and Canadian unions at this time?

This is a three-part question. The AFL-CIO has little influence in the non-Communist world because it withdrew its membership from the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), because George Meany was unable to dominate the organization and its policies and personnel.

The isolation was also augmented by George Meany's maintaining a separate worldwide relationship with some unions throughout the non-Communist world under the direction of Jay Lovestone, who was formerly head of the American Communist Party in the early 1930s. The activities of Lovestone tended to isolate the AFL-CIO from the balance of the organized labor movement.

The relationship between the American and Canadian trade unions is not as good as it should be. This is due, I believe, to growing Canadian nationalism, which has been fostered by the reactionary Right and so-called "Left." The relationship between American and Canadian unions has also been hampered by lack of proper representation in policy-making opportunities of international unions having Canadian membership, but having their headquarters in the United States.

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The UAW has recognized this problem for some time now and a number of years ago made our Canadian director a vice president of the International Union, UAW. He is elected by the Canadian delegates only; therefore, our Canadian membership has representation in officers' meetings, as well as on the International Executive Board. For a good many years we have had separate educational, research and public relations facilities for our Canadian membership. About a year ago we began the publication of a Canadian edition of the UAW paper known as *Solidarity*.

As a foremost trade union civil libertarian during the period of McCarthyism, how did you manage to retain your position in the UAW? What were some of the more difficult issues with which you had to contend? What were some of the key issues?

I had no difficulty retaining my position in the UAW during the McCarthy period, because the UAW leadership, which included officers and board members, was the most progressive and liberal of any of the labor unions in the United States. We didn't have internal disputes on the question of McCarthyism; our leadership solidly opposed McCarthyism.

I gave leadership to anti-McCarthyism, and to many cases. The most outstanding was the Milo Radulovich case. This was the young army officer who was banned from his job because his father allegedly received a subscription to a Communist publication. Also, the case of John Watkins—a UAW representative who refused to finger former members of the Communist Party before a Congressional committee.

The retirement of Jay Lovestone, as director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO has been characterized as the end of an era. Is this true? How do you assess "the Lovestone years" from a trade union point of view?

I do not believe that the retirement of Jay Lovestone will measurably change the foreign policy positions of the AFL-CIO, as long as George Meany remains president. Meany has always had an anti-Communist approach to world problems, and because Jay Lovestone attempted to magnify those problems and developed a paranoid attitude toward Communist countries, I am sure Lovestone had some influence on Meany. But Meany has been sufficiently confused on foreign policy matters without any assistance from Lovestone.

The Lovestone-Meany years have been tragic for the American labor movement because the position of the AFL-CIO has supported and bolstered military dictatorships, such as the war in Vietnam. The AFL-CIO has supported and has been the bulwark of Nixon's anti-communism, in opposing the recognition of China and having a better relationship with the Soviet Union. Nixon's 180-degree turn in relationship to China and the Soviet Union displeased George Meany and some of the AFL-CIO leadership.

You have been reported as opposing re-entry of UAW into the AFL-CIO. Is this a more or less permanent posture or can you foresee circumstances under which you would advocate rejoining the AFL-CIO?

George Meany

I am opposed to rejoining the AFL-CIO because conditions, which our late great president, Walter Reuther, so clearly articulated, have not been corrected in the AFL-CIO, and until they are corrected, I will vigorously oppose reaffiliation.

The Executive Board of the International Union, UAW, including all of its present officers, unanimously voted to seek certain structural and policy changes in the AFL-CIO. At the present time the AFL-CIO has a convention every two years and has a quarterly meeting of an Executive Council of approximately thirty people. The UAW in its proposals to the AFL-CIO wanted to broaden the base of participation of the approximately 125 unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, whose only participation currently is in a convention every two years.

During the negotiations for a merger in the middle 1950s, the CIO insisted on the establishment of a General Board, which gave representation to every affiliate of the AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, AFL forces were unwilling to give the General Board the kind of power and authority it ought to have. It was originally called at the convenience of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. The agenda was limited to that prescribed by the Executive Council.

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Instead of the AFL-CIO accepting our suggestions to have more frequent meetings of the General Board, and to give it the opportunity of determining its own agenda, the 1967 convention of the AFL-CIO took a backward step by further reducing the value of the General Board by giving George Meany the sole authority to determine when the board meets, if at all.

Resolutions adopted unanimously by the UAW Executive Board also called for a vigorous organizing program of unorganized workers and stepped up programs to eliminate the ugly practices of segregation and discrimination in our society. The AFL-CIO has done nothing to strengthen and advance meaningful programs in these areas.

I will continue to oppose the UAW's rejoining the AFL-CIO until such time as the AFL-CIO is truly a labor center, instead of a monolithic organization, run by one man, namely its president, George Meany. I will continue to oppose the UAW's rejoining the AFL-CIO until adequate progress is made on structural changes and programmatic changes which the UAW Executive Board spelled out in the policy statements of 1967 and 1968.

You were among the first voices in the American trade union movement to challenge this country's involvement in the war in Vietnam. Why, in general, was the labor movement so slow to respond to your point of view? In retrospect, how do you assess the work of Labor's Assembly for Peace which you helped organize?

I opposed the war in Vietnam from the very beginning because I felt it was a civil war, and I was opposed to supporting a military dictatorship of South Vietnam over the Communist dictatorship of North Vietnam. I am opposed to both dictatorships.

I believe the labor movement was slow to respond to my point of view primarily because it didn't want to embarrass President Johnson, who had been elected in 1964 on the promise of not expanding the war in Vietnam.

I believe that part of the labor movement was totally ignorant of foreign policy generally and has the mistaken notion that the way you demonstrate patriotism is to blindly follow the foreign policy of the United States, whether right or wrong. On the other hand, I believe that patriotism means love of country, and the best way to demonstrate that love is to try to change U.S. policies and programs if you think the country is going in the wrong direction.

Labor for Peace, of which I am co-chairman, helped mobilize sentiment for peace in Vietnam. The organization is currently not too active; however, its structure is available to mobilize a section of the labor movement to oppose unwise foreign policies and to advocate wise ones.

The fairly widespread impression that the UAW would be a less dynamic force after Walter Reuther's untimely death appears to be a misreading of events and of forces within the union. How do you view the future of the UAW as a progressive social force?

The UAW has never been a one-man organization. Walter Reuther was probably the most articulate spokesman for any union in the United States and, as a consequence, there was a false impression created that Reuther ran the UAW with an iron hand. I served on the International Executive Board with Walter Reuther for twenty-four years and during that time I had many differences of opinion with him and with the International Executive Board. We had a great deal of debate and discussion on policy, both domestic and foreign. The fact that we did not advertise our differences probably left the false impression on the manner in which the Executive Board of the UAW functioned.

The UAW has many capable, dedicated and devoted leaders in the cause of social progress, and I believe that the years ahead will find that it will continue to be the most progressive labor force in the country.

Some labor leaders complain about the hostility to labor encountered on some campuses. What has been your experience with college students and youth in general? Does this generation on and off campus tend to be hostile to labor? If so, why?

It is very difficult to generalize in evaluating the attitude of college students toward the American labor movement. I believe that there is some hostility to it because of lack of information on the generally progressive role that the labor movement plays in the daily lives of our citizens. Most college curricula are still business-oriented and where hostility to labor unions is most noticeable is where the business-oriented climate is the strongest.

How do you see the relationship between intellectuals and the American labor movement?

I believe that the leaders of the labor movement are among the intellectuals of our country, and are not separate from so-called intellectuals. Intellectuals who have not had a practical relationship with the labor movement in the solution of a problem will continue to have uninformed opinions about the labor movement. I believe that the labor movement must do a better job in publicizing its role in society in order to create a better climate between the so-called intellectuals and the labor movement.

How does the period of the sit-down strikes in the 1930s, in which you were very active, compare with the struggles of the trade union movement today?

The two periods are entirely different. The struggle of the 1930s was primarily for union recognition over the vigorous opposition of employers. Stool pigeons, detective agencies of various kinds, etc., were used to try to stop the organization of industry by the labor movement. In the 1930s we didn't have labor legislation such as the Wagner Act, which took effect in the later part of that decade. I would say the struggle in the 1930s was for organization and survival. Labor unions today are accepted as part of the American way of life by most of the business community, because unions have power. Therefore, the labor movement, having done its basic organizing work in the 1930s, has been able to concentrate on raising the living standards and improving the security of its members through negotiations of higher wages, paid holidays, guaranteed annual income programs, pension programs, paid hospital-surgical and other insurance programs.

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Throughout some forty years in the American trade union movement, you have been an independent and a dissident. Briefly, what is your philosophy of the trade union movement, and how did you come by it?

I believe that the purpose of the trade union movement is to create an economy that will guarantee full employment, higher living standards and full security for all of the members of our society. I was active in the Socialist movement in the 1930s and 1940s and part of the 1950s. Philosophically, I am still a Socialist. I believe that the tools of production and the purpose of government must be used to solve problems that people can't solve by themselves, and to raise the living standards of the many and not the luxury standards of a few.

Do you foresee any likelihood that the American labor movement might develop political tendencies along the lines of the British Labour movement? Will we ever have a labor party or a labor-oriented Socialist movement as in some Western countries?

I do not see in the foreseeable future any possibility for the development of a labor party or an intelligent Socialist movement in the United States that has the power of becoming the leading party of the country. The two-party system has been deeply ingrained in the American people. Although at one time I advocated the building of a labor party, I have since changed my mind because I believe that a third-party movement, labor- or Socialist-oriented, would be divisive and would strengthen the control of our government by the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party.

The British Labour Party, when in power, has demonstrated that there are no easy answers to major social questions. I believe that in the immediate future the American labor movement can best advance the necessary social programs by working within the Democratic Party and working with the progressive forces within the Democratic Party.

The UAW seems to have a different approach to détente than the AFL-CIO. What are your views on détente? What are the implications of détente for the American labor movement? Does the AFL-CIO oppose normalization of relations with Cuba? If so, why?

The UAW believes in détente with the Communist world because the nuclear age has made coexistence an absolute necessity. We will either have coexistence or no existence, and therefore it is important that we establish the broadest possible relationship with Communist countries, namely, the Soviet Union and China.

The AFL-CIO, through George Meany, continues to oppose establishing better relationship with the Communist world. I think this attitude is negative and self-defeating.

I do not know whether or not the AFL-CIO opposes normalization of relations with Cuba. I believe that they do. But my union, the UAW, on the other hand, is in favor of establishing a normal relationship with Cuba.

What should the trade union response be to the emergence of multinational corporations? What kinds of attitudes and policies toward multinationals seem to be emerging in the labor movement?

This is an extremely broad question and cannot be answered by a simple answer. I am personally opposed to multinational corporations and I believe that the labor movement of the world ought to be doing everything that it possibly can to abolish multinational corporations.

Both blacks and women, as well as other minorities, are far more active in the UAW than in most unions. What accounts for this? And how do you see the other unions reacting to the same challenge?

The leadership of the UAW from its very beginning opposed discrimination and segregation in all its forms. The UAW fortunately has had a more enlightened attitude than most unions toward minority groups in the community.

I believe that essentially the Socialist philosophies of the founders of the UAW are responsible for this. We in the UAW believe that both blacks and women ought to be given every opportunity of fully participating in the leadership of our local and International Union and we will continue to develop policies that can help make this possible.

I believe that the internal pressures from the blacks and women will compel other unions to adopt more progressive attitudes toward these minorities. □

2. Exit Lovestone the Alienator

B. J. WIDICK

The retirement of Jay Lovestone as director of the AFL-CIO Foreign Affairs Department comes at a time when the influence and prestige of the AFL-CIO is at an all-time low in the non-Communist labor world. Along with his boss, George Meany, who was the architect of AFL-CIO foreign policy, Lovestone in the role of active field general bears responsibility for this disastrous situation.

In an epoch of multinational corporation power, of the need to coordinate trade union activities in areas like the Common Market, and when the rising danger of Arab oil imperialism will wipe out the economic base of small nations, the AFL-CIO still retains its rigid "Russian fixation." Obsessive anti-communism remains the only measure of judgment. At a time when the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions should be a rallying point, the AFL-CIO still undercuts it—having tried to destroy it by withdrawing its support because the ICFTU

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refused to adopt without qualification its anti-Communist position.

After thirty years of frenetic activity and the expenditure of millions of dollars (including union, CIA and government funds) the AFL-CIO has succeeded in alienating the non-Communist unions in the Western world: Britain, Germany, Canada, the Scandinavian countries. Its efforts in Japan since 1946 have ended in the triumph of its opponents. In Latin America, the tragic fate of the trade unions in Brazil is one symbol of AFL-CIO failure.

The basic reasons for this enormous record of failure —which has been damaging to workers in all countries concerned—are not hard to find. For one thing, the Meany-Lovestone combination personified what was wrong with cold-war politics. An obsessive anti-Communist with Catholic ties and a building trades background, Meany alone might have been able nevertheless to develop a more affirmative foreign policy for the American labor movement. But when he chose as his chief adviser on such matters an embittered ex-Communist who had been general secretary of the American Communist Party, the die was cast.

In its own publications the AFL-CIO admits to defeat. The Meany-Lovestone view of the world was given recently in the *Free Trade Union News*:

> To the long list of gains political (Bonn's treaties with the USSR; European Security Conference); military (Salt I) and economic (trade, Western credits and know-how)—which détente has brought the Soviet Union, Moscow can now add another triumph: A major breakthrough on the labor front.
>
> Last month, for the first time in twenty-five years, Communist and free trade unions held a joint conference in Geneva. A few days later, the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) composed of affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) decided to expand and not only to admit Christian trade unions, but also to conduct negotiations on an eventual affiliation of the Communist-controlled COIL of Italy.

A similar analysis was made by Arnold Beichman writing in the *International Herald Tribune*:

> After almost three decades of seeming dormancy, Soviet prestige and influence in Western trade unionism has suddenly surged.
>
> Within the last two years, extraordinary pro-Soviet changes have taken place in the outlook of Western trade unions, particularly in the British Trade Unions Congress and the West German Federation of Labor, changes which only lately have begun to trouble West German labor officials as to their long term significance.

As cold warriors, the AFL-CIO international representatives were active partners in the clandestine activities of the CIA—while pretending to be a "free and independent labor movement," and denouncing knowledgeable labor critics like Victor Reuther of the UAW for protesting this debasement of the functions of democratic unionism. Agents of the AFL-CIO openly engaged in subversive activities in other countries—even boasting of their interference in the internal affairs of other nations, while criticizing Communists for similar operations. The AFL-CIO compromised its international educational programs by admitting they functioned at times as agents through which conspiracies were directed against duly elected governments. American unionists going abroad found it difficult to escape the taint of the CIA.

The AFL-CIO and Meany have repeatedly denied these covert activities, but in Joseph Goulden's biography of Meany, much of the AFL-CIO operations were admitted and documented by the evidence. Meany himself described the Foreign Affairs Department as an "arm of the United States Government."

William Doherty Jr., an officer of the American Institute for Free Labor Development—an AFL-CIO-sponsored organization—detailed the role of the AFL-CIO in the overthrow of the Goulart regime in Brazil in 1964. "The AIFLD group became intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place. What happened in Brazil on April 1 (when Goulart fell) did not just happen—it was planned, and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders—some of whom were actually trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution." The tragedy of the situation, as Goulden pointed out, was, "unfortunately for Brazilian workers, the overthrow of a corrupt, pro-Communist leadership that delivered the labor movement into the hands of an anti-union military junta. The generals imposed a repressive police state which took direct command of labor unions and gave short shrift to the 'democratic trade union practices' the AIFLD trainees had sought."

Fortunately, not all American unions share either the rigidity of outlook, or the pessimistic estimate of the future indicated in the *Free Trade Union News*. As against the theory that détente is responsible for all gains or losses, or the view that détente is "an absolute fraud," to quote Meany, there is an alternative and more attractive concept of détente which is finding acceptance in the unions. It was stated succinctly by Dr. Andrei Sakharov, on accepting the Norman Thomas Award this year. Dr. Sakharov wrote: "We welcome the negotiations that are now being held aimed at preventing a thermonuclear war, as well as the armaments race, and to promote negotiations directed at increased trade relations—in short all that is denoted by the word 'détente.' " Dr. Sakharov also emphasized that "external détente is tragically not accompanied by internal and human détente." A unique function for trade unions here and in other Western nations is to bring about that internal and human détente —as the TUC in England and the UAW in the United States have tried—but this cannot be achieved by rigid cold-war stances or a refusal to meet and discuss the problem with people and organizations. As against the AFL-CIO policy of abandoning this difficult task in the name of "anti-communism," American unions, as they must, are beginning individually to take into account the process of ferment and change that is evident throughout Europe and to engage in dialogue with a broad spectrum of trade union forces on collective bargaining and shop problems.

Of course, attempts by Walter Reuther in this direction were resisted successfully by the Meany-Lovestone faction in foreign affairs of the AFL-CIO. The duo isolated Reuther at home, and provoked him into pulling the

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UAW out of the AFL-CIO. Nevertheless his successors continued the Reuther policy abroad, and have, along with other American unions, maintained close contacts abroad. A major reason for the UAW success has been its more realistic approach to basic trends in world politics, and the rejection of the cold war. The UAW policy, stated in convention resolution form, points out:

> For almost a quarter of a century, the East and the West faced each other in the semi-frozen postures of hostility and suspicion. By the late 1960's, it had become apparent to all that the Cold War was thawing because the principal parties were drawing fewer and fewer advantages from it. Thus new sets of "realities" have come into being in the game of nations. The two-bloc world centers in Washington and Moscow are being replaced with many centers and many blocs.
>
> The UAW has long recognized that without peace in the world all else may end in futility. We must play our appropriate role in trying to shape our destiny in foreign affairs. When we cooperate with other people and organizations of good will, our strength to achieve the common good is magnified. The UAW, in furtherance of its efforts to forge new strength for democratic ideals, will continue to encourage cultural, educational and worker-to-worker contact in all sections of the world.

Undeniably, that viewpoint was hard-pressed during the Yom Kippur war. No one was more blistering in his public and private remarks than Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, in his discussions with Russians. The steelworkers and Jerry Wurf, president of the State, County, and Municipal Workers both dropped advanced plans for a dialogue with Russian representatives. What the Russians fail to understand is the concern and support of American labor for the workers and the state of Israel. The Teamsters, the UAW, District 65, and the AFL-CIO are solidly united behind a basic commitment.

Arab oil imperialism—from which fantastically huge amounts of money have been made, and which weakens the Third World countries like the African nations—looms as a menace to the standard of living of workers everywhere. The AFL-CIO fixation with the "Russian question" underestimates this New World situation. When oil sheiks can tell U.S. companies not to sell oil to the American military in the Middle East, there is a topsy-turvy effect in terms of former concepts.

In that general context, and with the Russians encouraging the war hawks in the Middle East, as well as the presence of the Sixth Fleet there, any assumption that the cold war has ended would be wishful thinking. A weakened Nixon regime lacked enough credibility at home to make any moves toward détente meaningful. Meany and Sen. Henry Jackson carried more than normal political weight because of a moribund administration. Fortunately, a split in the old cold-war camp is developing: Senator Jackson has come out for "détente" with China, much to Meany's dismay. "I don't agree with Scoop on the China policy," he said. For Lovestone this must be a disturbing situation. His world of obsessive anti-communism on all fronts has received another blow. His vicious attacks on Henry Kissinger no longer reflect the views of Meany who declared recently, "I'd like to see Henry Kissinger Secretary of State with another boss." Thus the situation within the labor world is sufficiently fluid to make the exploration of new ideas possible, and to have a dialogue at home and abroad on all phases of détente along the lines suggested by Dr. Sakharov. If the unions continue to emphasize the need and importance of solving collective bargaining problems with the cooperation of world councils and secretariats, realistic and workable solutions can be achieved. The retirement of Jay Lovestone is one obstacle removed. □

3. Steel: No-Strike & Other Deals

GEORGE BOGDANICH

> There's no other way to put it, a union that gives up the right to strike is a company union.
>
> —*George Edwards, Chairman*
> *National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee*

Gary

The major oil companies were not the only industry which reaped windfall profits in the last year. U.S. Steel was up an amazing 102 per cent; Bethlehem Steel was up 53 per cent, National Steel 35 per cent, Jones and Laughlin 44 per cent with similar gains throughout the industry.

However, it has been a year of setbacks for Steelworkers. The usually cozy relationship between the steel companies and the international leadership under President I.W. Abel has reached the point where secret negotiations between the two sides have become an almost routine way of doing business. Recently, several highly controversial agreements between Abel and major steel company representatives have angered much of the membership of the United Steelworkers union (USW).

These include an agreement with steel company management which prohibits industry-wide steel strikes; a new three-year contract whose economic package for steelworkers, in the words of one disillusioned union staff representative, "falls way short of what is needed"; negotiation of a consent decree to a court-ordered settlement of a Justice Department suit to modify the seniority system which has discriminated against minority advancement. The consent decree has been criticized by the original plaintiffs—black and women's rights groups—for "watering down" earlier favorable decisions.

It is significant that all of these major agreements were made by a lame duck president (Abel must retire at the end of this term) who is not obliged to inform the membership when negotiations are taking place. The right to ratify contracts has long been a demand of reformers, but

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efforts to change the constitution have been successfully thwarted at conventions by Abel and his predecessor, David J. McDonald.

It would be unthinkable to imagine, for example, the president of the Auto Workers or the Mine Workers unions proposing to give up the right to strike before, during and after contract negotiations. In the Steelworkers' union, however, strikes are somewhat less popular because of the unsuccessful way they have been employed in the past by the union leadership. Many members of the USW remember with bitterness the 1959 strike which lasted for 116 days and resulted in meager economic gains. Also the steel companies have repeatedly (with the union's cooperation) stockpiled products at the end of each three-year contract, enabling business to continue and leaving the union in a poorer bargaining position.

It should be noted, however, that from the last steel strike in 1959 up to 1973, steelworkers fell from the highest paid industrial workers to fourteenth on the list. It must be argued that it is the threat of a strike which forces a company to take the demands of a union seriously. "Going into negotiations without the right to strike," says one Gary steelworker, "is like going into battle without your only weapon."

Nevertheless, late last year Abel and R. Heath Larry, chief negotiator for the large steel companies, announced a pact called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) which prohibits a national steel strike. As an inducement, steelworkers are offered a $150 bonus and a narrowly limited local right to strike if the union president approves—an unlikely circumstance. Unresolved issues must be submitted to binding arbitration. Earlier this year the pact was extended to 1977.

The original rationale for the ENA was ostensibly to prevent foreign imports from gaining new markets during a domestic steel strike. Though foreign plants (many of which are owned by American steel companies) did make minor inroads during 1971-72, the relative upswing of the American dollar has reversed the situation entirely. In fact E.B. Speer, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel, recently predicted another year of high profits because of "the diminishing impact of steel imports." So much for the foreign threat.

When some preliminary discussion of the idea of a no-strike clause had been revealed several years ago, the union's counsel Bernard Kleiman issued a statement that read in part, "No agreement of this type could possibly be reached without a poll of the membership." This promise was not kept.

Though Abel has stated often that the "labor peace" which results from the no-strike clause will be good for the rank and file, he has strongly resisted efforts to hold a referendum on the ENA.

A major struggle against the agreement began early this year, and continues despite setbacks. Opponents of the ENA have signed petitions (16,000 signatures as of this date), held rallies, passed resolutions against the pact at local union meetings, and filed an unsuccessful court suit against the ENA. In retaliation, the steel companies have fired several activists against the no-strike agreement in different mills across the country. At an industry conference this year Abel, in terms reminiscent of the Mine Workers' Tony Boyle, lashed out against his brother unionists who opposed the no-strike agreement, calling them "a cancer which must be removed before it spreads."

Lacking an opportunity for a democratic referendum, the anti-ENA steelworkers were cautiously hopeful for relief in court. On January 7, thirty-five members of the USW filed suit in federal court in Pittsburgh against the steel corporations and their union to invalidate the ENA no-strike agreement. Their action was endorsed by three national caucuses including the black members' *ad hoc* committee. Most of the steelworkers' attorneys were from the Center for Constitutional Rights including the eloquent former general counsel for the United Electrical Workers, David Scribner, and prominent ACLU attorney Arthur Kinoy. The plaintiffs' attorneys argued passionately that the ENA had been arrived at undemocratically, without the knowledge or consent of the membership, and also that the ENA abrogated an existing contract.

The steel companies and the international union leadership had, for their part, a strong array of well-paid counsel to defend the ENA. Despite apparent contradictions in testimony by Abel and Kleiman, Judge Hubert Teitelbaum, a conservative Republican from the Pittsburgh area, denied the plaintiffs' petition to overturn the ENA. Judge Teitelbaum ruled that the court would "not review the decision-making process . . . and substitute its judgment for that of the parties." The judge also accepted the testimony of President Nixon's labor liaison William J. Usery that a union need not let its membership vote on contracts which affect them.

Referring to the loss of the right to strike, the Judge stated that "in any system of self-government, in theory and in practice, even the most precious of rights may be waived assuming that the system's established procedure for making such a decision is followed."

Despite the negative verdict, the plaintiffs and their attorneys (who are planning to appeal as of this date) feel that the trial exposed much about the way the top union leadership operates. The trial revealed that Abel did not even inform the union's International Executive Board (IEB) that negotiations were going on to give up the historic right to strike. The IEB is the highest governing body of the union, consisting of the three top officers and the district director of the union. Questioned by attorney Scribner as to why the Executive Board was not informed of the ENA negotiations, Abel said:

"They [the IEB] seldom are [informed], regardless of what the problem is, until we have resolved it." "We," in this case, refers to Abel and the steel company negotiators.

A similarly disdainful attitude was revealed toward the Steel Industry Conference (SIC) which approved the ENA in lieu of the membership. The SIC consists of the president of each union local. A letter was sent each member of SIC from the union's headquarters informing them that a meeting would be held, but not revealing the reason for the meeting. The letter was so casual in

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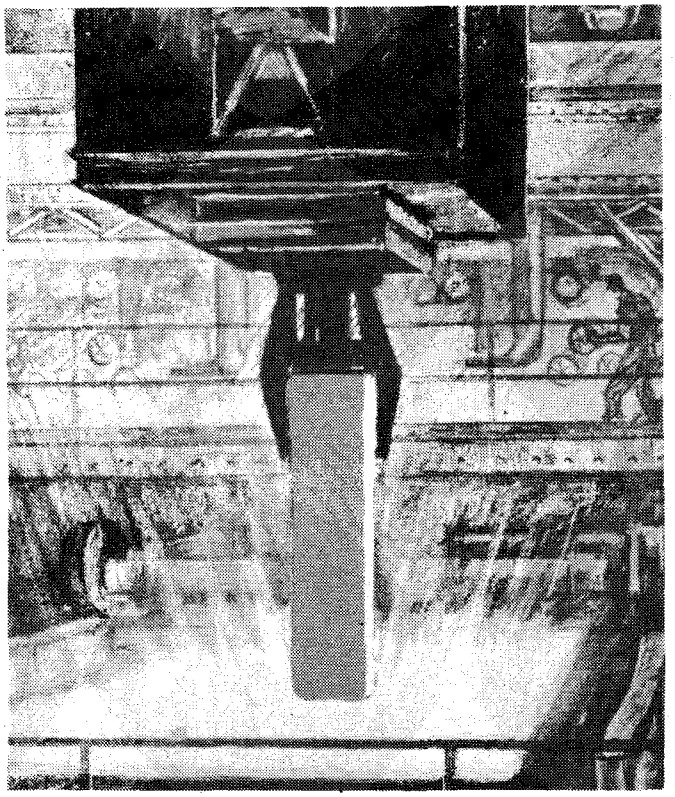
the nature of its contents that one-third of the members of SIC did not bother to attend.

Abel forces were able to defeat a motion which would have delayed a vote on the ENA, and allowed local presidents to consult with their memberships back home over the issue. International union counsel Kleiman admitted, too, that a key phrase which gives steel companies the right to lock out in some cases was missing from the pact which the SIC ratified.

Critics of the ENA expected that the union leadership and the steel companies would negotiate a substantial wage increase this year, in order to soften criticism of the ENA and pave the way for its extension into 1977. Instead, the contract negotiated for 1974-77 brought only a 28¢ increase the first year and 16¢ increases the following two years—a disappointing package in view of the inflationary economy and enormous steel company profits. To many steelworkers, the only significant gain in the contract was a long-overdue increase in pension rates.

There are other ways in which secretly negotiated "sweetheart" agreements affect the everyday life of workers in the steel mills. A comprehensive study by Dr. William S. Lloyd, now with the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, determined that those who work on top of the coke plant batteries for more than five years have a ten times higher rate of lung cancer, emphysema and other lung diseases. A more recent study has shown considerably higher rates of kidney cancer than average. Some of the most difficult and unhealthy work in the steel mills is done in the coke plant by laborers in the lowest job class on the pay scale. A disproportionate number of these are black and Spanish-speaking. What has made their situation more unhappy until recently is the fact that these workers could not be promoted to other parts of the steel mill.



After years of trying to get the union to fight for plant-wide job seniority, civil rights groups took their case to the Labor and Justice Departments, which filed suit against the steel companies and the USW for discrimination in the seniority system. A court ruling favorable to the plaintiffs was made on behalf of the steelworkers at U.S. Steel's Fairfield Works (Alabama) which, if unchallenged, might have improved the prospects of all workers, black and white, who work in the heavy-duty, low-paying jobs. The Fairfield decision would have instituted plant-wide job seniority and forced offending steel companies and the union itself to pay substantial back wages to minority workers who had suffered discrimination.

The steel companies and the USW leadership were disturbed by the ruling, which they called "unworkable." Once again the steel companies and the union began meeting in secret, this time with three government agencies enforcing civil rights laws—the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the Labor Department and the Justice Department. Over a six-month period, a court-approved consent decree was arrived at, which considerably modified the Fairfield decision. Under the consent decree, workers who have transferred out of their old departments can retain their old wage rate for only two years, by which time, they must be promoted or lose their rate retention. The decree places quotas on the number of blacks and women who must be promoted to certain departments, but substantially reduces the amount of back pay to a maximum of $3,000.

As with the ENA, the process by which the consent decree was reached is as controversial as the agreement itself. The union leadership did not allow its own civil rights division to participate in negotiations, nor did it allow the SIC a chance to vote on the agreement. Challenging the decree as intervenors are the NAACP, the National Organization of Women (NOW) and the United Steelworkers Rank-and-File Committee.

The lack of democracy in the decision-making process parallels the undemocratic election practices which abound in the USW. Dirty tricks have a long and ugly tradition in USW elections and show little sign of abating. The U.S. Department of Labor recently went into court to order a new election for district director in the international union's largest district (Chicago-Gary). The district director's election in 1973 seems to have set a record for the vote-rigging tactics on behalf of a pro-administration candidate. [See Bogdanich, *The Nation*, May 7, 1973.] Ballot-stuffing, forgery of signatures, refusal to allow observers to monitor the casting and counting of ballots, were just some of the problems the Labor Department investigated when anti-administration candidate Ed Sadlowski was narrowly defeated in the 140,000-member district. Federal investigators had examined only 20 per cent of the district's 297 locals before evidence of fraud was sufficient to order a re-election.

The attitude of the international union leadership toward insuring a fair election was uncooperative, to say the least. Even before the election took place, Secretary-Treasurer Walter Burke refused to order union locals to

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provide Sadlowski with the time and place for balloting in each of the locals.

In one Gary local (1066) where 680 phony signatures were discovered after balloting, the union local itself had to try its former president for vote fraud. Ex-President Daniel Cifalia and five other officers of the local were fined $14,000 and prohibited from holding union office for five years. Though the international had failed earlier to take any action against the accused officers, Abel sent a two-man commission to review the sentence imposed by the local. The commission found the sentence "excessively harsh" and ordered that the fines be dropped.

Despite all the setbacks for reform in the USW recently, there has been one positive result. Steelworkers from different parts of the country and with different problems are becoming a more unified force. One hundred steelworker dissidents from Miami, Seattle and Buffalo recently met in Chicago for several days to plan strategy for bringing about a vote on crucial issues at the upcoming USW convention in Atlantic City. Many of the participants were young and the mood of the conference was optimistic and determined. Indeed, one could favorably compare the present upsurge in independent membership activity with the last major challenge to steel union leadership when rank-and-file groups united to challenge an increase in dues in 1957.

There is a considerable similarity between the problems of steelworkers today and those which caused the mine workers to throw off old guard leadership two years ago—sweetheart agreements with management, health and safety issues, and the undemocratic constitution which gives enormous power to the top officers of the union. The similarity is not lost on steelworker rallies where the victory of the reform Mine Workers is an inspiration to dissident steelworkers.

It was a combination of court victories and the building of rank-and-file involvement that brought needed changes to the leadership and constitution of the Mine Workers' union. It is clear that a similar combination of victories will be necessary to bring democracy to the Steelworkers' union. □

4. Mine Safety and Strip Mining

DUANE LOCKARD

The British coal miners' recent strike brought down a Conservative government and boosted mine wages by 30 per cent, making the British wage about half what American miners earn. The American coal contract expires this November, and undoubtedly the new contract will restore American mine wages to the roughly 3-to-1 ratio over British wages that prevailed before the British raise in March.

Superficially that makes the lot of the U.S. miner seem far more attractive than that of his British counterpart. But the superficiality of the advantage is its chief feature, for American miners have been conned for decades with relatively high wages and have been deceived on nearly every other issue. For one thing, they have paid with their lives because mine safety is neglected by union and industry. Mines in Britain, for technical reasons, are inherently more dangerous than ours, yet, despite the fact that Britain employs more than twice as many miners, it has less than half as many fatalities annually. American companies have kept the price of coal competitive partly by cutting the corners on safety, legally and illegally. Also in Britain, the early recognition and treatment of the dread black lung disease greatly reduced the suffering from that occupational hazard. It was designated a compensable industrial disease in the early 1940s; the British have fought it and reduced its incidence. But it took a grass-roots miners' rebellion in West Virginia to inaugurate disability pensions in the United States. Ironically, when the United Mine Workers' experts testified before the West Virginia legislature, their emphasis was on the economic costs of compensation, not on the health hazard to the miner.

But the sharpest contrast of all between American and British miners is none of those things but the little known story of the varying ways the two countries faced the issue of technological unemployment. Typically, the American way was simply to automate—and let the consequences fall on the worker who inevitably was unable to protect himself without support of his union. In Britain, with a stronger union movement and nationalized mines, the issue of "redundancy" of workers idled by ever higher productivity was resolved in such a way as to give the miners full consideration.

The coal industry is one of the most outstanding examples of greatly increased industrial productivity in the last thirty years. The output of coal in America is now roughly what it was at the end of World War II (British production is somewhat lower), but the work force required for that production in both countries has been reduced by about 400,000 men. (In Britain it dropped from 700,000 to 260,000 and in the United States from 500,000 to 125,000.) Some mechanization began earlier, but at the close of World War II, most coal was still mined underground with pick and shovel. Now half of all American coal comes from surface mining, and underground mining technology bears little resemblance to the crude methods of the 1940s. As a result, British production per man-shift doubled and in the United States the increase has been even greater.

In Britain it is the proud claim of the National Coal Board that, by making adjustments, this enormous reduction in work force did not result in dismissal of superflu-

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ous workers. Staff experts of the National Union of Miners and their counterparts in the National Coal Board agreed: no one was to be left to fend for himself because of job cutbacks or when collieries were closed. Four alternatives were open to redundant miners. First, the retirement age was lowered and early retirement benefits took care of a considerable proportion; the average age of British miners is much higher than in other industries. Second, relocation at other mines was an option for many workers. And that was a real offer, for the miner and his wife could visit, at NCB expense, any mine with job openings, to size up the mine, housing and community. Many took that option, remaining if possible in their own regions. Another option was to accept a tiding-over severance pay to sustain the worker while he sought other employment. (This supplemented unemployment compensation benefits.) Finally, retraining for another line of work was provided for, but like manpower retraining programs here it appears to have had little success.

One sociological study of the impact of closing a mine near Durham gives an indication of how the alternatives worked out in practice. When the Ryhope mine closed down after more than 100 years, 844 workers were jobless. More than 60 per cent of them were relocated in mines within the Durham region. Only 3 per cent went to mines in other regions. Some 100 workers stayed on for salvage work or left voluntarily for other employment, leaving 182 officially declared redundant. Of these, forty-three were retrained for other jobs, the majority of them ending in unskilled occupations where they earned less than they had as miners. Another eighty-four registered as disabled and got benefits, and the remainder either retired early or received redundancy payments, based upon the length of time they had been miners. The median sum was about £350, but a sizable minority got in excess of £500. Admittedly these are not princely sums, and miners complain of the inadequacy of their compensation, but *something* was indeed done for every man thrown out of work.

It is an indication of the American attitude that we do not know how many miners were cast aside by the automation process. In Britain the annual reports of the Coal Board reflect these figures, but in the United States one can only find rough estimates, the best of them being that about 10,000 to 15,000 lost their jobs each year during the 1950s and 1960s. There is even less hard information about what became of the surplus miners. Only workers old enough to retire got any kind of amelioration and that was minimal—$100 a month, which was reduced to $75 for a period in the early 1960s—until as a campaign ploy by Tony Boyle in his contest with Jock Yablonski it was raised to $150. To aid somewhat, in 1965 the age of eligibility was lowered to 55, but to a pensioner of that age, not yet able to get Social Security, $100 or even $150 a month was not much help.

The essence of it is that John L. Lewis sold out the mass of miners in 1951 when he decided that automation was necessary for the survival of coal in its competition with oil and gas. As a result he reached an accommodation with the industry that was to last during the remainder

of his tenure and that of his successor, W.A. (Tony) Boyle. Nor was it necessarily wrong to support automation. Cutting manpower is one thing, but the question of who pays for it is another. Lewis and the coal companies he once scourged with abusive rhetoric decided to let the miner bear the cost alone. The union refused to incorporate any benefits that the British miner received except for the retirement benefits. Even so the eligibility rules for retirement and health benefits were juggled about so much that many miners who had worked as long as forty years were declared ineligible for retirement benefits —because they had not spent twenty of their last thirty years in mines covered by the royalty agreement. In 1973 in the *Blankenship* case a court ordered 17,000 former ineligibles returned to the rolls, and the judge spoke of the capriciousness in manipulating rules for eligibility.

The results in Appalachian coal fields were inevitable: unemployment was widespread and poverty was so extensive that it moved John F. Kennedy to voice his concern about West Virginia during his campaign for the Presidency. And laying off these tens of thousands of men helped bring the special legislation aimed at relieving Appalachian poverty. That at least was its ostensible purpose, although it achieved little. The ultimate degradation came late in the Lyndon Johnson era when the make-work "happy-pappy" program was inaugurated. It soon was allowed to expire.

If what the government did was little and sometimes demeaning, union and industry did nothing. So the squalor grew in half-abandoned mine towns, where former miners living in shacks saw their children go hungry, deprived of a good education and denied opportunities for a career.

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Congressional committees investigated the issue again and again, and both the union and company spokesmen emphasized that the difficulty was competition with imported oil. Little was said of the impact of automation. Indeed union spokesmen showed so little interest in the subject that their presentations varied only slightly from year to year.

To add to the miners' problems, their welfare fund, based on a royalty on each ton of coal mined (beginning at 5¢ and now 80¢), was manipulated so as to endanger their pensions and health care. In cynical capitalist-financial legerdemain much of the fund's capital was not invested but put in checking accounts in a bank largely owned by the UMW. Ultimately as much as $100 million was available to the bank, but no interest was paid to the fund. Years later a court order directed that $11.5 million be repaid to the fund (the *Blankenship* case), but far more money than that was lost directly and indirectly. In numerous civil and criminal proceedings, it was disclosed that money went for such things as financing Tony Boyle's campaign against insurgent Jock Yablonski, and later presumably union funds paid for the murder of Yablonski, his wife and daughter. Siphoning off money through improper banking procedures was only part of the operation, however. Through salary increases (in 1970, salaries of union officers and employees were up by 25 per cent), expense accounts and the like, UMW officials fattened while welfare funds were sinking.

Now that Boyle and his associates have been replaced, the picture is different. The former insurgents are in command, the demand for coal is high and production is expanding. But given the financial structure of the industry and the history of abuse that coal miners have known, optimism is not necessarily warranted.

It is true that Arnold Miller, the new president of the UMW, has brought unprecedented democracy into the corrupt and discredited union; indeed he surprised both friend and foe at the December 1973 convention by running, for the first time in at least fifty years, an open and fair convention where the delegates were permitted to reject the proposals urged by the leadership. [See "The Miners Convene: Problems of a New Broom" by Phil Primack, *The Nation*, January 5.] Moreover, Miller is adamant not only about economic gains for miners but also in calling for action on safety. At the first mine disaster after his election, Miller told the company representative at the scene that he was not going to take Tony Boyle's attitude toward such carnage. (He was referring to Boyle's famous statement at the site of the Farmington, W.Va., explosion where seventy-eight died, that those tragedies were an inescapable aspect of mining, something that had to be expected, and specifically commending the safety record of the Consolidated Coal Company—whose intolerable violations of safety regulations did not annoy Boyle, even then.) The new regime at UMW promises to be very different; a hard-working and aggressive safety unit has taken the field, and Miller has announced a policy of "safety or else." The "else" suggests not only a strong line in contract bargaining but possible support for wildcat strikes over safety issues. Of symbolic importance are some other changes: voluntary reductions of officers' salaries, auctioning off the union's limousines, and a decision to move union headquarters from Washington back to the coal fields.

In contrast to the union's previous level of leadership, Miller's credo is promising:

> I think it may be important that the three chief officers of the UMWA still think of themselves as coal miners. We work in Washington in the union's ornate headquarters, but we are not at home there. We think as miners, we react as miners. We see the world through coal miners' eyes. You learn to get by without much light in a mine. You develop good instincts—if you don't you do not survive. We survived long enough . . . to grapple with the people who thought our union was something that belonged to them personally, and we got it away from them. Now if we don't lose our way of looking at things . . . I think we may see a day again, not too far off, when people think of coal miners as the shock troops of American labor.

Shock troops they may have to be, and they will need some first-class generals too, men who will be capable of great leadership and bargaining skills, if they are to win the campaign ahead. For the adversary is formidable and the strategic conditions unfavorable.

The coal industry is highly concentrated, like most of American industry, and the coal companies therefore command sizable economic resources. At present fifteen companies produce more than half of America's coal output, and the fifty largest produce two-thirds of it. Of the fifteen largest producers only one is an independent coal company, and it has other mining interests scattered around the world. Six of the fifteen are directly owned by oil corporations, resulting in a classic conflict of interest. In fact, one reason for the recent worldwide oil crisis was the oil industry's refusal to develop the technology to produce petroleum from bituminous coal. It preferred, instead, to exploit the cheap Middle East oil, thus escaping American taxes and reserving American oil holdings and all coal reserves (comprising 87 per cent of the available fuel in the United States) for future exploitation. The Germans developed methods to convert coal into oil during World War II, but Jersey Standard acquired exclusive American rights to this process as a way of reducing competition. Now the oil companies that own coal firms have better ways of dealing with the problem: they can manipulate coal operations to suit their larger interests in oil. While oil and natural gas represent our scarcest fuel reserves, they also represent 77 per cent of our national energy consumption, a strangely skewed allocation of scarce resources. But of course we have no national fuel policy, just a national profits policy.

The coal industry has the resources and an economic interest to manipulate coal production to its own ends. And now with the unprecedented demand for coal, and with the price high, the industry wants to go where the cheapest low-sulfur coal is. That is not under the hills of Appalachia but in the strip mines of the upper Plains States, where there is good quality coal which can be extracted at relatively low cost.

The prospect of exploiting Western coal, along with the drive for mine safety, has put Miller in a dilemma. When he was campaigning for the union's presidency Miller was

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anti-strip mining, but after he took office he was more reticent on the issue and for a long time the union took no position on the bill before Congress to set a national policy of control of strip mining. The problem is that strip mining now produces one-half of all coal and that means it pays half the royalties into the welfare fund, royalties that are essential to the well-being of Eastern underground miners. Moreover, Miller wants to organize the Western strip miners and an anti-stripping position might jeopardize that task. However, in spite of pressure from some union officials against that stand, Miller announced his support of the strongest version of the bill.

Whatever this does to the UMW's prospects for organizing Western strip mining, a problem remains. The industry wants to move toward stripping because it is concerned about the costs of the "safety or else" campaign, which will boost the price of coal. As the recent history of European mining indicates, mining death and accident rates can be sharply reduced, but admittedly not without paying for safety. In Europe, governments subsidize safety; here the miner subsidizes the cost of coal—in blood. Thus the new militancy of the union on safety may be another reason for pushing the coal companies westward. That is why the current controversy in Congress over the strip-mining bill is being fought so intensely: the issues at stake greatly transcend the conservation issue that always arises. The prime question is in fact the future of coal and coal miners for decades to come. □

5. The Black Partners

WILLIAM LUCY

The generation of depression-era workers who braved police truncheons and goon squads for the right to hold union cards has given way to a new generation more skeptical of union capability. The percentage of the work force that pays union dues is declining, and has been for several years. Only one of four American workers belongs to a union; thirty years ago it was better than one in three.

The one exception to this slippage is to be found in the black community. Three million blacks make up 15 per cent of the organized work force, and union membership draws increasing numbers. The reason is obvious—whether they are sanitation workers in Atlanta or nurses' aides in Detroit, it is to labor unions that they turn to get a fair deal from "the man"—management. Just as the Democratic Party has won the confidence of blacks as the "working man's party," so unions have become the movement for black workers. Yet both the party and the unions fail the black community, and in much the same way. Whether it is politics or unions, black workers share little of the decision-making and the black community reaps few of the economic or social gains.

Blacks are nearly as rare in the policy-making bodies of most major unions as they are in the executive suites of major corporations. Only two of the thirty-five members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council are black; both represent small unions with little clout. A. Philip Randolph is thought of as a great civil rights leader—not a great labor leader. If labor unions are the movement of black working people, why are there so few black labor leaders in this country?

We've done a little better at the polls in recent years, but here numbers can be misleading if power isn't wielded for change. A few years ago it was an event when a black man or woman was elected to office. Today more than 2,600 elected officials are black—though that's less than one-half of 1 per cent of the elected officials in this country. More significant is how few of that number are part of the driving wedge for change beneficial to the needs of the black community. We elect our friends to office and they become part of the elite that protects what already has been gained, rather than using their office and power to break new ground. The question, however, is not whether politicians have failed the black community or whether the labor movement has failed it, but whether either fully understands not only the need but the opportunity to do something substantial.

A labor union will bargain for an additional 12¢ an hour for its members and be keenly aware of what increased wages will mean to the worker's family budget; at the same time, it will tolerate hiring practices that effectively exclude blacks, seeming unaware not only of the implicit immorality but also of what high unemployment means to the black community in terms of crime, broken families, demeaning welfare, drugs and delinquency.

As for Democratic politicians, too often the extent of their political interest in the black community is, "Will it vote on Election Day?" They have to ask that question because rarely is there any persuasive reason for the black community to vote. Between elections, Democrats rarely develop programs that benefit the black community, programs that broaden the economic base of the poor, programs that would establish a tangible commitment and give the black community a tangible motive for voting in the next election.

What is so tragic about this isolation of the black community from both the political and labor movement power structures, is the potential for change that its participation would represent. It was this potential, and the need for a mechanism from within to make it come alive, that inspired the formation of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The CBTU was organized in September of 1972 at a meeting in Chicago attended by some 1,200 black union

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officials and rank-and-file members from thirty-seven national and international unions. We established at the outset that CBTU would not be a separatist organization, but would do its pushing and prodding and provoking from inside. A statement of purpose made the following points about CBTU: "It will work within the framework of the trade union movement. It will attempt to maximize the strength and influence of black workers in organized labor . . . as black trade unionists, it is our challenge to make the labor movement more relevant to the needs and aspirations of black and poor workers. The CBTU will insist that black union officials become full partners in the leadership and decision-making of the American labor movement."

"Partners" is the key word of that proclamation. Blacks want a genuine partnership with all segments of our society. Rep. Charles Rangel of New York has said that if black people are to change the system, "We must educate our people on the subtle art of forming coalitions, lobbying, publicity, letter campaigns, compromise and other tactics generally associated with manipulating the political system for special interest groups."

We haven't undertaken that basic grass-roots education—showing how to effect change—in the black community. Black people are the objects, not the agents, of manipulation. We need to reach into the black community —the labor movement needs to do that, the church needs to do that, the schools need to do that—to enlist and train blacks in the art of organizing for change.

We are told that the Office of Economic Opportunity was a failure, that it merely threw money at problems. I would challenge that. The fact that we now have 2,600 black elected officials in this country is as much of a tribute to OEO as it is to the Civil Rights Act and massive registration drives. OEO did go into the inner city and it did identify and give organizational tools to young blacks, who took it from there to begin challenging the system on its own terms. Make no mistake: it is the *successes* of OEO, not its failures, that led to its bludgeoning by the Nixon administration. When conservative politicians became aware that OEO was awakening a black leadership which neither the labor movement nor the Democratic Party had made any sustained effort to nurture, the slashing attacks began. All you need do is look at the two areas where OEO has suffered its most severe criticism: the legal services program and community action. Both rocked the boat, both were successful; both had to fight for their lives.

Nixon once characterized the American people as "like the children in a family," with himself, of course, as father. The labor movement tends to see the black community in the same way. The A. Philip Randolph Institute, funded and controlled by big labor, doesn't interpret the needs of the black community to the highest policy councils of the AFL-CIO. Rather, like an ambassador to a foreign country, it acts as an apologist for the labor movement's shortcomings, stroking the black community rather than helping it.

At the CBTU's third annual convention last May in Detroit, we issued a terse warning to organized labor's establishment, expressing the "overall dissatisfaction" of black workers with their "limited role and involvement" in the shaping and implementation of union policy at the local and national levels. Shortly thereafter, the NAACP released a study of discriminatory hiring practices in the construction trades that graphically pointed up the price the black community pays for this isolation.

The NAACP documented how rigid control of training and access to jobs by many unions work against the vital interests of the black community. The three-year study noted that voluntary programs for eliminating racial discrimination in the building trades don't work, and weren't intended to work—they merely sidestep the fact that racial discrimination is clearly illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Under AFL-CIO-sponsored apprenticeship programs, candidates pass a number of written and oral tests to qualify for formal apprenticeship training. Such a concept could be beneficial to minorities. But the NAACP study observes that the majority of craftsmen don't enter their trades through apprenticeship, and that arbitrary standards are common. Outreach programs were used by craft unions to control training of minorities while creating the illusion of compliance with the law, the report said, adding that the "greatest proliferation of training programs will have little effect until racial discrimination is eliminated in the construction industry."

Like the outreach approach, "hometown" plans are based on apprenticeship and related training activities, and have the blessing of the AFL-CIO. These plans, the NAACP study shows, are used by craft unions and contractors to violate, with impunity, the legal prohibitions against employment discrimination. Experience in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston and other cities shows that hometown plans have had little or no effect on eliminating discrimination in the building trades. Such plans have provided only limited training programs for blacks, with no guarantee of union membership or jobs, and have been used extensively by both employers and unions to evade their legal obligations.

A willing accomplice in these evasions has been the federal government, which has been either reluctant to enforce discrimination statutes or has administratively nullified the extensive body of law against discrimination, as it has done in the hometown plans and outreach programs.

An example of the federal government's overreaching itself to "protect" contractors from hiring black workers developed this summer in New York City. A plan initiated by the Lindsay administration last year would have compelled construction contractors to hire more workers from minority groups, and was designed to provide black workers with thousands of jobs on city construction projects. It ran into immediate trouble with the Labor Department, where Secretary Brennan issued a memorandum forbidding local governments to impose an Equal Employment Opportunity requirement that had not been approved by the Labor Department for federally funded projects. As a result, the city's application for federal funds to finance construction projects was rejected, leading the city to file suit in District Court. In July, the court slapped down the Brennan memorandum, barred the with-

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holding of federal funds and authorized the city to go ahead.

It is significant that the momentum and support for those jobs for black workers came from local authorities, and the attempt to circumvent came from the federal government. Only a few years ago the reverse would have been true.

One thing the 1960s proved is that the federal government can indeed reduce unemployment and discrimination, even though it made less progress than we had hoped. But before the war in Vietnam drained off the needed resources, OEO and other federal efforts proved genuine, if limited. The frustration of the 1970s is the weight of evidence that programs which rely on the social conscience of the private sector are doomed to failure.

The need for a partnership of blacks and whites, of labor and politics, at all levels, working for the mutual interests of working people, is constantly short-circuited by those who seek to divide or exploit for personal gain. Poor blacks and poor whites are caught in the same squeeze, but venal politicians play on the fears of both, and foster a climate of hostility and distrust that negates efforts to solve problems we have in common.

Now, in some of the most unlikely places, white and black workers are beginning to recognize that their fates are intimately and inextricably tied together. An example is Mississippi, where the harvesting of timber is a major industry. I was astounded to learn that the men who cut the trees worked, in 1967, from sixty to seventy hours a week in order to earn $2,000 to $3,000 a year. Trapped in a system dominated by giant paper companies, the woodcutters formed the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association dedicated to getting a better deal for its members.

James Simmons, founder of the association, stated:

> I'm a Southern farmer, raised on a small cotton farm in Alabama. You really can't help how you're raised . . . you can't help your beliefs. I'm the type person, in my younger days, who didn't believe in organizing, didn't believe in labor unions. I wanted to fight the battle myself. You'll find a lot of Southern people have this feeling.
>
> But, getting into worse shape financially, it began to cross my mind that the only way we were ever going to do anything would be to organize. It takes numbers. It takes weight.
>
> I'm an uneducated fellow, didn't go to school much, and wasn't interested when I was there. But you look at any other group—doctors' associations, bar associations. They have done real well in fixing themselves up by being organized. Any time you got a hog growers' association, the hog people get some benefits off it.
>
> We met in a saw shop one night to make plans for future meetings. One fellow asked what we were going to do about the black people. One of our men spoke up and said, "There's no choice. You got more black men cutting wood than white people and long as they keep us split, they're going to control both of us."

A somewhat similar feeling was expressed by the blacks and whites in southeast Baltimore who formed a joint organization to secure needed community improvement. A white ethnic lithographer, an officer of his union, and active in the black-white partnership said:

> This is the age of communication, but nobody talks to each other. You got to get back to the people.
>
> Our differences have been brought to the fore too many times. The differences are there. They're easy to see. But politicians, so-called leaders, exploit these differences.
>
> I'm tired of being labeled. . . . I'm tired of being labeled a hard-hat. I'm tired of being labeled a bigot. I'm just me and I got nothing against black man, red man, blue man. We have been falsely labeled just as the black man has been falsely labeled.

Vernon Jordan put this in perspective recently when he said: "The Archie Bunker-ization of the American working man is a myth fed by the enemies of both working people and black people, and by those who would roll the clock back to the good old days when blacks knew their place and unions weren't recognized."

Adding to the friction between white and black workers is today's 6 per cent unemployment economy, where obvious fears arise when programs are devised that offer new competition for jobs. But a genuine partnership of black and white workers would enable the labor movement to act substantively on the real needs of working people. Rather than confrontation or competition for jobs, the labor movement could address itself to the real issue: enough jobs for everyone.

This partnership could be brought to bear on issues of mutual benefit, such as needed tax reform that would close the loopholes which force American workers to pay more than their fair share of the tax bill. Public service employment, guaranteed income, occupational safety and better, sounder pension plans are other examples of programs and issues that affect all workers,

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black and white, and where a joint effort could have telling effect.

Whatever alliance develops between black and white, the black worker's commitment will depend upon that word "partnership." Black men and women no longer can be seen as merely a vote on Election Day, or additional numbers that swell the size of protest groups. If an alliance is to be effective, blacks will share the decision-making.

The basic question is whether black working people will manage their own affairs or whether their affairs will be managed for them. The number of black workers joining the trade union movement will continue to grow. The success of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists will be measured in large part by the degree to which unions open up their leadership ranks to black workers.

The future of the labor movement may well depend on the same thing. □

6. Gompers & Debs: A Dialogue

ALBERT FRIED

Following is a conversation between the shades of Samuel Gompers and Eugene V. Debs, recently recorded in the Elysium of Labor Immortals.

Gompers: Looking down on our country as Labor Day, 1974 is observed, I'd say we have reason to be proud of our handiwork. Don't you agree?

Debs: Well, yes, in general. What specifically do you have in mind, Sam?

Gompers: I don't have to spell it out. Just look at the strength of the trade unions today. Twenty-one million members, a quarter of the work force. In my heyday the AFL counted no more than 4½ million in its ranks, and then only for a short time. And who would have thought so many white-collar and professional people, teachers and civil service workers and the rest, would be organized? Look at all the blacks and women in the unions, millions of them. Now that must really please *you*, Gene. No, our lives weren't misspent.

Debs: True enough, I guess. When I died in 1926 I didn't believe industrial unions had a future in America; they seemed further away than ever. But there they are, solid as oak.

Gompers: A joy to behold.

Debs: Well, yes and no. I think you go too far, Sam—

Gompers: Nothing is perfect, of course—except up here.

Debs: I mean that organized labor leaves a lot to be desired, has a lot to answer for.

Gompers: For example.

Debs: To be blunt about it, Sam, the thing you admire most is what distresses me most. You admire the size and strength and independence of unions, their ability to get more and more for their rank and file. Fine. But meanwhile they—most of them—have become an integral part of the capitalist system. They seem at times to be its most faithful defenders. Sometimes the most conservative. No one backed the Vietnam War more ardently than George Meany—

Gompers: And rightly so. A great leader.

Debs: Now how did I know you would say that? What I find interesting is that Meany was in the camp of the extreme Right, in the company of people who despise unions.

Gompers: Foreign affairs, the struggle against Communist barbarism, transcends partisanship and petty interests. Remember, you were jailed for betraying the country when it needed you.

Debs: You have it wrong: the country betrayed its principles. I remained true to them. The First World War was a crime. The Vietnam War even more so. I regret that only one prominent labor leader—Walter Reuther—opposed the war, and belatedly at that.

Gompers: Please get on with it. What's your point?

Debs: My point is that as the union movement has grown powerful so it has grown conservative, until now it resembles the pure and simple business unionism of your old AFL in its worst days. No insult intended, Sam.

Gompers: Insult? Furthest from it. You honor me. Why is it that you always need to be critical, to run down successful institutions and people? You admit that organized labor today is getting more and more for the workers, and without bloody strikes and long layoffs. And because they don't strike but instead bargain collectively you accuse them of being an integral part of the capitalist system. Sure, they defend the system against lunatic radicals who wouldn't mind if everything went up in flames, the unions along with the capitalists. I fought them in my day. Meany fights them now. We want a free system, not a totalitarian one of the Left or Right.

Debs: Rhetoric, Sam. Just words. Try to listen for a minute. I'm not arguing against unions and you know it. I'm saying that certain things are implied when they affirm the *status quo*, even one that brings them benefits.

Gompers: What things?

Debs: First of all, while organized labor as a whole has received a greater share of the wealth than ever before, that wealth is being distributed less and less equitably among the member unions. The strongest unions, those which control the labor market and whose product is most in demand—the skilled members of the construction trades, long-haul teamsters, steel and auto workers for example—get the most. The worker unions—garment and hospital and farm workers and so forth—get the least. The income gaps between these strata keep widening.

Gompers: Stale criticism, a cliché. What should the skilled workers do? Make sure everyone gets the same wages?

Albert Fried teaches at Sarah Lawrence College. His latest book, Except To Walk Free, *will be published by Doubleday Anchor early next year.*

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Debs: No. I'm only telling you what happens when organized labor embraces the *status quo*. In the nature of things it's a *status quo* that strengthens the aristocracy of labor and fosters business unionism typified by the likes of George Meany, a good trade unionist. The two necessarily go together: the increasing wealth and power of the aristocracy relative to the rest of the working class along with the development of an aging, ossified and bureaucratized leadership. I'm defining the character of the union movement as a whole. There are dissenting unions, chief among them the United Auto Workers. But they offer a muted and contained dissent. Nor have I mentioned the huge chasm that now separates organized labor from the unorganized and impoverished who have nothing, the truly insulted and injured of America. For the bulk of the unions this mass hardly exists except as a threat.

Gompers: I listen to you in disbelief. I'm convinced that you have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Your description of dedicated union officers, chosen by the rank and file, reminds me of the time you and your cohorts used to call me a labor lieutenant of capitalism, a fakir, and worse. Only because I wanted to preserve the AFL's independence, keep it free of ideological entanglements, obtain more rights, more dignity, and, yes, more material benefits for the men and their families. That's what the AFL-CIO represents today, thank God. It's in good hands. You expect the unions to do what? Become philanthropic agencies for the poor, the lame and the halt? Set up the cooperative commonwealth you always promised? Who's stopping the insulted and injured from helping themselves? That's what we cigar makers did. That's what all the trade unionists did in the old days. I don't have to remind you. It was a struggle every step of the way, a grinding, brutal struggle, no quarter given. We had a million obstacles which don't exist today. Yet we did it. Let the unorganized organize. A little struggle is healthy for the spirit.

Debs: If you survive. Now let me remind *you* of something. Remember what it was like when you tried to get the AFL going in the 1880s and '90s?

Gompers: How can I forget it? That's what I was referring to. The turmoil and violence, one crisis after another. The strikes and riots everywhere: Haymarket, Homestead, Pullman—your special nemesis—and the shoot-outs in the West: Coeur d'Alene, Leadville, name them. And then there were the Anarchists and Single Taxers and Bellamyites and Knights of Labor and Socialist Laborites and Populists. Who can forget those days? Why do you ask?

Debs: Don't you see? You and the other founders of the AFL didn't struggle alone. You came out of an insurgent political environment. There was continuous opposition to the government and the capitalists, a continuous generation of radical ideas and programs. You and Strasser and McGuire were all Marxists, Socialist Laborites—

Gompers: I never belonged to the party. It's true they did.

Debs: In any case, it was your heritage, the AFL's heritage. Not only that. The AFL grew to maturity in that same radically insurgent environment. You became more conservative—

Samuel Gompers

Gompers: Strict trade unionists.

Debs: Conservative in the sense that you kept aloof from the turmoil all around you, from the unskilled masses we Socialists were attempting to organize into industrial unions, mobilize on the economic and political fronts. Now if it weren't for the agitation of the Socialists many of the capitalists would not have come to terms with you. As it was, about a third of your members before World War I, half a million or so, belonged to Socialist affiliates and favored your ouster from the AFL. I see Berger, Maurer, Hayes and Barnes nodding their heads over there. So when you say you struggled alone, it's not entirely true. You had friends whether you realized it or not.

Gompers: Some friends. They were my cross, the enemies of trade unionists, a pack of—

Debs: Let's not get into that. You see my point.

Gompers: How do you account for the fact that the AFL made its biggest gains during World War I, when you and your comrades amounted to nothing, when the country was unified and resolute behind our great President? Explain that to me.

Debs: Great President? For you, for the AFL maybe. For supporting him in the war effort he did a lot for you, and the AFL grew by leaps. But consider what happened to the AFL after the war. You, Sam, died just as its membership began to drop dizzily. And one of the main reasons for the drop throughout the 1920s was, I submit, the absence of a viable Left opposition in the country. The Socialists and Communists were a trifle. Progressivism was dead. The capitalists were in the saddle and didn't have to make concessions to the AFL. It was no alternative and it fell away to a shadow of its former self. And the history of the 1930s illustrates my point further, clinches it I would say. The country was in the grip of the Great Depression, the greatest crisis since the Civil War. There were strikes such as America never witnessed, including general strikes which closed down whole cities and sit-down strikes which closed down whole

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industries, strikes led by radicals of every stripe: Socialists, Trotskyists, Communists—

Gompers: Scoundrels, misfits, blacklegs—

Debs: —who brought fresh new blood into the labor movement, whatever you think of them, who helped organize the enormous industrial unions that sprang up overnight, despite the AFL's opposition. The CIO, I am saying, arose in a charged and tempestuous political milieu similar to the one that produced you, the AFL, fifty years before. Now I come to the crux of my argument. With the capitulation of such giants of American capitalism as General Motors and U.S. Steel to the militant CIO, the AFL suddenly experienced a rebirth. Business enterprise flocked to the AFL as though their salvation depended on it, and its membership doubled after 1937, overtaking the CIO's by a wide margin.

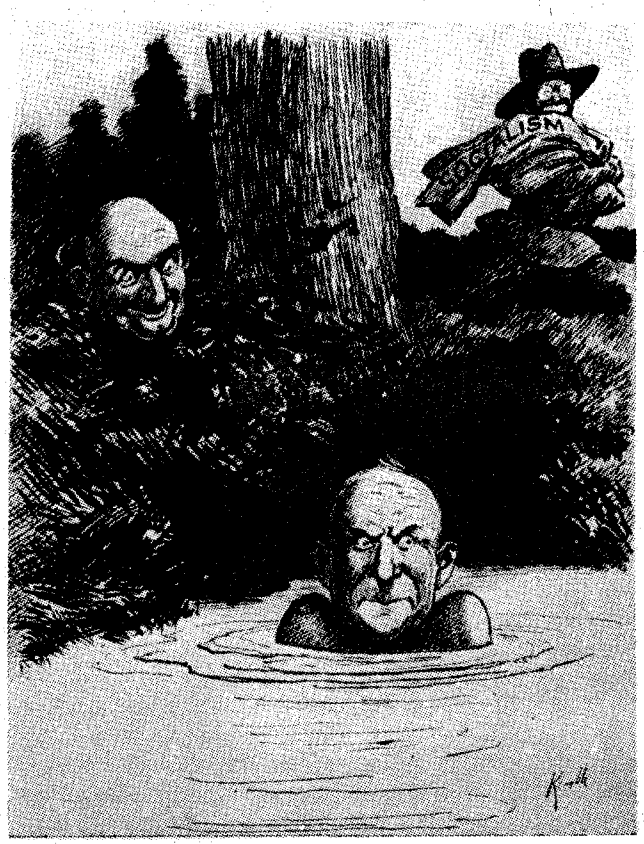
Gompers: World War II had something to do with that too.

Debs: Sure it did. But it wasn't followed by a drastic falling-off of members and affiliates. That was the big difference between post-1918 and post-1945. The AFL and the CIO both held steady.

Gompers: O.K., you made your point. But that's all past. The 19th century is over. The 1930s was its dying gasp. What the capitalists have learned—the hard way I admit—is that industrial peace is best achieved through collective bargaining with organized labor. If you call that the *status quo* so be it. More power to the *status quo*.

Debs: We're back to where we started.

Gompers: What would you prefer? Strikes, riots, lockouts, civil conflicts, the murder of workers? You prefer rabble-rousers, demagogues, bogus—



Drawing for Harper's Weekly (1912) by E.W. Kemble
Eugene V. Debs
Teddy Roosevelt Has Gone Off With His Clothes; William Jennings Bryan, Also Stripped, Commiserates from the Bushes.

Debs: Please, no name-calling. Soon we'll be insulting each other. And it's hardly fair of you to say that someone can't be critical of organized labor without preferring riots, wars, anarchy, what-not. I'm critical of the conservatism of the trade union leadership today, of its hidebound complacency, its torpid self-satisfaction, its inability to attract the best of the young—people like yourself when you were a radical and an idealist.

Gompers: What? I was no middle-class intellectual. I was a worker with a large family to support. We lived from hand to mouth.

Debs: But you *chose* to be a trade unionist. You could have made it in business or politics. How many of the men you worked with back in the 1870s and 1880s abandoned the unions for the main chance?

Gompers: Many, most.

Debs: And who are the people in charge of the unions today? Careerists by and large, men of small vision and narrow concerns.

Gompers: You want visionaries?

Debs: Yes, people who have a vision, who conceive of unions as critics of social wrongs, not as celebrants of the *status quo*; who would range unions on the side of the disfranchised poor, not on the side of the power elite; who would stand for a countervailing ethic of equality and cooperation, not silently acquiesce in the prevailing ethic of inequality and competitive individualism; who would open the unions to what is creative and progressive in American life, not keep them enclosed behind a curtain of obscurantism and parochialism. That's what I'd like to see take place down below.

Gompers: A whole eternity won't change you, Gene. You don't want trade unions, you want utopia. If it's the good society you want you'll have to find it elsewhere. A union is a union. Either you have it or you don't. The structure dictates it.

Debs: Listen, structures change like everything else. They aren't defined in the tablets of the law. And structures differ. The UAW is one kind of structure, the Teamsters another. The difference lies in the attitudes, the values of both the leadership and the rank and file. But there's one sense in which you're right, and I readily grant it. I agree that we can't look to organized labor itself as the prime mover of radical change, least of all change within its own structure. It must come from outside, from the political milieu, from a broad-based movement at large, one that consists of the educated middle class, blacks and other minorities, the poor—in short, a new radical coalition. Then, only then, can there be renewal *within* organized labor. Only then can there be fruitful interpenetration and cross-fertilization between the unions —not all of them to be sure—and the whole movement. No one can tell what new ideas might exfoliate, how society, and above all the structure of organized labor, might evolve.

Gompers: You think labor should take a back seat in this coalition or movement?

Debs: Neither back nor front. Side by side would be just right.

Gompers: You'll never change. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Folklore Without Strip Mining

JOHN PECK

COYOTE MAN AND OLD DOCTOR LOON. *72 pp. $5.*
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SELECTED POEMS (1904-1950). *56 pp. $4.*
By Jaime de Angulo. Turtle Island Foundation, 2907 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115 (by mail order only).

In April of 1906 there arrived by ship in San Francisco a young Spaniard who one year earlier had left a Jesuit lycée in Paris with disgust and, breaking with his father, a grandee, had ventured to Wyoming as a cowpoke, then to Honduras as a guard on a chain gang. He disembarked in time for the earthquake—whereas Edward Curtis did not, arriving days later to find his cameras pulverized (he had shipped his plates to Seattle some months earlier, thereby saving the first seven years of work on his forty-volume *The North American Indian*).

Jaime de Angulo was 19. Twice his age, Curtis was to give twenty-four more years to a labor that would preserve glimpses of Shot-in-the-Hand, Chief Joseph, and the shadow of a Lake Pomo hunter; he would also do important ethnographic work. So would the young Spaniard who, after more cowpunching, an M.D. at Johns Hopkins, marriage and a stint as instructor in Jungian psychiatry to army doctors, returned to ranching and to the Achumawi Indians he had known near Alturas. This led de Angulo to his extraordinary career, and finally to a body of work that moved Ezra Pound to remark in a note to Robert Creeley: "W. Lewis & Jaime de Angulo, the only two prose writers alive that don't put me to sleep within five minutes."

De Angulo's interest in languages and in the Achumawis brought him, through a chance meeting with Alfred Kroeber, to summer teaching in an anthropology program at the University of California at Berkeley in 1920 and field work the next year. Divorced and remarried soon thereafter (his first wife went on to translate Wilhelm's version of the *I Ching* for Bollingen), he studied Mexican Indian languages in the field and published his first papers in anthropology and linguistics. But although Kroeber judged de Angulo's ear for language to be finer than his own, the postwar red scare insured that this singular character received no permanent offer from Berkeley; nor did Berkeley offer to preserve his fragile wax cylinders of Pit River medicine songs. As he put it, "Decent anthropologists don't associate with drunkards who go rolling in ditches with shamans." For other, more obscure reasons, Lawrence would snub him later at Taos.

From the tribes and convocations that once inhabited what old French maps label *grand espace de pays qui n'est point connu*, mere traces are to be found in our libraries; and among our most valuable accounts, is it not those by dedicated amateurs that stand out in monitory relief? The contacts between Neihardt and Black Elk of the Sioux, Frank Waters and Oswald White Bear Fredericks of the Hopi, de Angulo and his Pit River shamans Sukmit and Blind Hall, remind us that even our best intelligence of these peoples has been lucky and precarious. In de Angulo's case, without formal linguistic training or an academic post (his defender Boas nonetheless snared him field grants), the work became professional and often pathbreaking: twenty-eight papers before 1933, four of them in French, on the language, music and religion of more than a dozen Mexican and California tribes.

From the fiction, poems and retellings of California Indian tales that de Angulo began during these same years, it is apparent that the doctor and the psychologist in him exercised a total curiosity. Poised between European and Great Basin cultures, and with his temperament, he could receive signals over a wide frequency-band. His studies of Indian healing and intuition, and notably of Pit River shamanism, issue from the same powers of observation that inform *The Lariat*—the most impressive of de Angulo's short novels, picturing Spanish Catholicism in California much as Hawthorne represented certain faces of Puritanism: an intrusive cultural force whose domination of native powers could not escape the influence of those powers, a "satanic" seduction as inevitable as it was natural and just. In the narrow sense, this tale addresses those distortions of spirit and intellect in the culture of his father from which de Angulo had fled. But more largely it is one of the few effective historical romances on California's cultural miscegenation (a reflection on Hawthorne seems unavoidable), and de Angulo was uniquely equipped to write it, for he came to each element of California's past as the place itself had absorbed them, with a particular force in each case. His grip on Spanish still meager when he arrived (thanks to his Parisian nurture), he had to take his bearings on all fronts: Anglo, Spanish and Indian cultures, and the host of tongues. It seems characteristic, then, that while de Angulo projected his trilogy of novels on "Californios, Indios, Monks, Anthropologists, Vaqueros, and Witch-Doctors," he also worked away at an ambitious general book on language, left unfinished at his death in 1950. David Olmsted observes that the Indians in the novels speak perfectly good Achumawi. But then, too, and with an eerie aptness, animals in *The Lariat* make unaffected conversation. The host of native powers finally comes to redress a balance disturbed by the invader and his custodial friars, and part of that redress is a restoration of voices, birds and weasels as Indians might overhear them, whimsical chorus, marginal and not so marginal, to the fates of both the violent Fray Luís and the bear hunter Kinikilali.

I magnify this aspect of the tale to suggest that de Angulo's narrative eye takes in the full surround—as it does also in his memoir of contacts with the Pit River tribe, *Indians in Overalls*. Dramatic clashes between worlds do not seduce him from attentiveness. Shall we say that neither memoir nor fiction drops into that humorless hyperbole used by a more recent inquirer, disciple of the *brujo* in his desert? Were de Angulo's curiosity about the shaman's *damaagome*, or spirit power, to emerge as the topic of one more vogue, fashionable taste would have reverted, somehow, to the classical. De Angulo's Indios are "esoteric," if that is the right word, set down in a prose of succinct and

John Peck is the author of Shagbark, *a book of poems (Bobbs-Merrill).*

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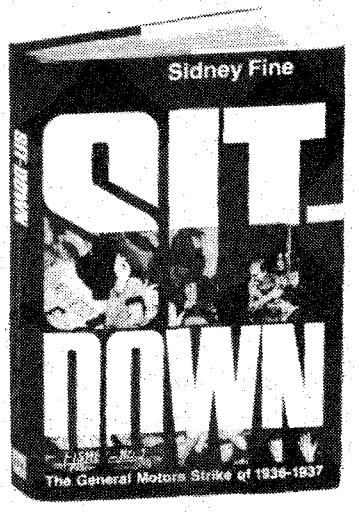

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brusque plainness, and of that clarity which must have caught Pound's eye.

The clarity comes, too, from a steady humor, and from sensitivity to the elusive impact of collective dignities, a people's "way." In his large study of *The Writer and the Shaman*, Elémire Zolla singles out the portrait of Blind Hall in *Indians in Overalls* summoning his powers in the open at night, as "one of the best stories of this kind that have been told since the 17th century." The description of an intense stick-and-bone hand-game in the same book offers equally fine narrative, and then there is the account of a Pit River decision to resume an auto trek through sagebrush flats. A car breaks down, is dismantled intriguingly and fixed, but the expedition stays put, gossiping, sitting around, swapping stories. "The days went by, four, five, six days."

> Then it happened. It was midday, or near. I heard a man say, way off: *"S.huptsiidzima."* If he had said *lhuptiidza toolol*, "Let's all go," it would have been different. But no, it was not in the imperative mode, it was in the indicative: "We are going, all of us, *toolol*, we are going, *s. huptsiidzima*, we are all going." He didn't say: LET'S ALL GO! No, he merely stated a fact: WE ARE ALL GOING.
>
> It was like a whirlwind. I turned around. Women were throwing baskets into the tin lizzies. Then without any further warning or consultation one of the tin lizzies started off in a cloud of dust. Another was right on its heels. Then a third one, but this one had hardly started when someone yelled, "Hey! you are forgetting your baby!". . .
>
> Sukmit yelled at me: "*Lhupta*, let's go! For Christ's sake, are you going to stay here forever?!"

Frank Waters writes of "time" among the Pueblos: "There was only the consciousness of the moment for right action. No one knew how it came. But when it came they obeyed."

Until now, de Angulo has been known in print chiefly from his retelling of a loose Coyote cycle, out of mixed tribal sources and his own invention, devised at first for his children. But if *Indian Tales* thereby reminds Mr. Zolla of Schoolcraft's synthetic Hiawatha cycle, we must recall that Henry Schoolcraft, Gent., was in every other way de Angulo's antithesis—typically outraged at the Ojibway language for its "tendency to clutter up general ideas with particular meanings." As invention rather than record, *Indian Tales* is a simpler *Metamorphoses*. Gary Snyder describes it as "a story that might be told by Indians of a real journey through objective territory by real people, after the telling of it had been filtered through several generations and the real people become confused with the half-animals of folklore." The cycle absorbs Kuksu, Pomo, Yurok, Karok, Pit River and Achumawi lore into its itinerary, and includes a series of shaman songs by Coyote Old Man: "I am Pis'wis'na. I am the Hawk. / I am the Hawk, I cry. / I cannot get rid of the bitterness. / Always I remember." De Angulo's own poems tend toward this scale, with Chinese lyrics not far off: "grass and bamboo and eucalyptus in the rain / long white trunks swaying in the wind / . . . but the bluejays are laughing / 'gayo, gayo, run for home, philosopher!' "

As for Pit River origin-tales themselves, the *Dilasani qi*, we now have de Angulo's translations in *Coyote Man and Old Doctor Loon*, parts of which one may tally with versions by other informants (for the simpler Shasta version of Loon, see Tale 13 in Tristram Coffin's anthology). Huddled for long winters in lodges, this people developed its culture with a special emphasis upon song and story. Certain flavors of the *Dilasani qi* emerge only in de Angulo's informant-versions, not in the gentler reweavings of *Indian Tales*. In "The Saga of Coyote," for instance, the immemorial interloper and buffoon waxes typically randy:

> Although he gave Fox a thousand worries Coyote was always forgiven. But the final blow came when Coyote broke Fox's wife into pieces. She was a little clay doll which Fox kept hidden under one of the rafters in a corner of the house. Every evening, in the dark, Fox would take her out of the hiding place, and Coyote could hear them whispering very softly, and making all kinds of fascinating sounds. Coyote asked Fox to lend her to him. But Fox refused. "You would not know how to use her," he said.
>
> One evening, when Fox was out hunting, Coyote looked all through Fox's corner, found the doll, and tried to force her. But she was not made for Coyote's size, and he broke her into a thousand pieces. This time it was too much. Fox lured Coyote into a booby trap, and broke his head. To finish the job Fox went all around, and everywhere Coyote had urinated Fox dug up the soil and dispersed it. Then he went back home. But Fox had forgot a small spot back up in the mountains, on the eastern side, where Coyote had urinated a long time before. Three days later, Fox heard Coyote rushing down the mountain howling. It took a long time to straighten that one out.

Those Edison cylinders etched with Sukmit's power songs have rotted away, de Angulo's grammar of Shasta languishes with Boas's unpublished papers, but manuscripts in Berkeley cupboards

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have been rescued. The Jaime de Angulo Library, under editorial supervision by his widow, bids fair to refocus the man: selected papers on Indian language and religion, tales in translation, linguistic studies, the novels and poems —thus far a projected series of nine finely crafted volumes with de Angulo's line drawings, by mail order only. The editor, Robert Callahan of Turtle Island Foundation, hopes to include other material as it becomes available—including a correspondence with the Pound of the St. Elizabeth's years ("two old men raving in the night," remarks Robert Duncan, who was de Angulo's typist at the time).

The Jaime de Angulo of legend will, of course, remain. It is this figure who rides down from his mountain ranch above Big Sur into Henry Miller's chapter on Moricand, a sybaritic Frenchman who never had "thought it possible to combine in one person, as did this Angulo, the savage, the scholar, the man of the world, the recluse, the idealist and the very son of Lucifer." Buckaroo Doc, as the Pit Rivers called him, might have snorted. Hadn't his oldest friend among that tribe said, "I am always trying to tell you things, Doc, but you are worse than a young Indian"? And had not Sukmit exploded, nervous about his song held captive on the wax cylinder: " 'Hell, what do you know about *damaagomes*? You are nothing but a white man, a goddam tramp.' 'No, I am not a white man!' 'Yes, you are a white man, you are a white man forever!' Old Mary chuckled from over the campfire. 'You two always quarreling like two old men. You Indian, you white man, ha-ha-ha! You both crazy!' " The value of these writings by this crazy man, available now in single format, will be clear enough to those who can use them. Among these uses sheer example stands out, to set against what Charles Olson, for one, has decried as inauthentic literary transfusions of foreign energies, "the oldest thing here in these States: backtrailing, colonialism, culture scratching!" And then, too, while de Angulo like others of his generation turned toward the primitive, he did not, like certain of our contemporaries, vault or bolt or pirouette into natural piety. The Spaniard who punched cattle and stayed to figure things out flaunted no abrupt conversion, erected no mystique, engaged in no strip mining. He stayed clean of that in each of his several capacities—particularly as the legendary Coyote Old Man who, as Snyder has put it, "listened patiently to gossip, could sit still, eat acorn-mush with the rest, and remember for years: Jaime de Angulo." □

The Rave Notice as Menace

HAROLD CLURMAN

The rave review, often referred to by theatre people as a "money notice," is not only harmful to criticism but injurious to show business. To put it another way, I believe the review which indulges in superlatives is bad for the theatre.*

Years ago I was briefly engaged as an associate producer with Twentieth-Century Fox. As such, I was asked to see the test of a young actress who was being considered for a term contract. When asked my opinion of the "candidate," I said that I thought her good. The studio's casting director rather sharply replied, "Zanuck thinks she's *great*." To which I could only comment, "We mean the same thing."

At another time I heard that Sam Goldwyn, after a private showing of a picture he had just made, asked one of his colleagues what he thought of it. The response was "Great! Just terrific! It'll make history!" "So you liked it?" was Goldwyn's next question. Mr. Goldwyn understood Hollywood's critical vocabulary.

In the history of the theatre there are probably few more than a hundred *great* plays. And Jacques Copeau, the leading French theatrical figure between 1913 and 1939, once remarked that there were

*This article, in slightly different form, appeared originally in the John F. Kennedy Center *Playbill* for April.

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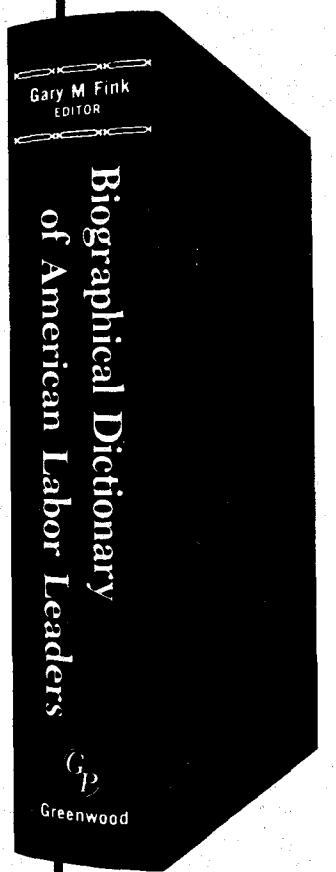

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even fewer actors than plays to whom the term "great" could be properly applied. "Great" is ordinarily only slang for the expression of complete approval. Critically it is almost meaningless unless set within some scale of values or definition of standards.

Not long ago a director friend of mine said of an American playwright I admire that he had a second-rate mind. "Oh," I said, "I don't think he's that good." If I had been challenged, I might have named Aristotle, Spinoza, Dante, Sophocles, Shakespeare, among others, as men of first-rate minds. If such a listing were considered acceptable, then the playwright I championed couldn't be rated in the second category. But I still thought him important. A good play, I submit, is good enough for anyone.

The use of torrid expressions of praise is dictated, it is said, by the present state of show business. Due to the high cost of production, the price of tickets has risen forbiddingly. While such a play as *What Price Glory?* could declare a profit after a two-week run in 1924, a similar production in New York today would have to run for at least six months to pay off its initial cost—if it played to near capacity throughout the period. In the 1920s, most of the established producers undertook four plays a season; if one of them was a hit, the producer was satisfied that he had enjoyed a successful season; if two of the plays had done well, the producer could then congratulate himself on a bonanza year.

Radio was primitive in those days, there was no TV and movies had not grown as overwhelmingly popular as they later became with the introduction of sound. All this has changed: the playgoer has become wary of spending money except for the most touted shows. Before 1919, reviewers were sparingly quoted in the ads; nor were the ads as large as they are now. Remember, too, that there were more than twice the number of dailies on the stands, so that the usual divergence of opinion stimulated rather than detracted from ticket purchase.

The playgoer today looks to the reviewer to guide him in his choice of shows. He wants to be assured that they are worth his price and the time. He has little patience for anything but the "best"—if possible, the sensationally best. With rare exceptions, the reviewer is devoted to the laudable task of encouraging theatregoing, keeping it alive as an enterprise, even as an art. There are, to be sure, reviewers with a passion for punishment of plays and players. Their boundless vituperativeness constitutes a raving no less tempestuous than the hosannas of reviewers given to indiscriminate gush. But since such vilifying reviewers are chiefly read by those who rarely go to the theatre anyway, they probably do less damage, except to the people who are subjected to attack, than the others.

The benevolent reviewer is willy-nilly lured into extravagance. To make it unmistakable that he likes a play, that he believes it worth seeing, he must not only indicate but vociferate that a particular play has very nearly driven him mad with ecstasy and that all those who fail to storm the box office for tickets are fools. The reader thus conditioned equates a temperate tone in reviewing with indifference.

Not long ago a producer berated me —for a while even refused to send me press tickets—because I had not been sufficiently cordial to his shows. When I pointed out that I had liked some of them fairly well, had even thought them "pretty good" (though I had not employed that phrase in my writing), he countered with "Pretty good is not good enough." I understood him perfectly, and to a degree, I even sympathized with him: his "fault" was not of his making, but of a general condition.

When another producer whose play I had reviewed favorably complained that while this was so, I had not "raved" about it, I answered rather flippy, "only the insane rave." At this point I came to the conclusion that the theatre is caught up in a vicious circle, for which no one is entirely to blame, but that something ought to halt it.

It is unhealthy in several respects. It makes for unsound criticism, it misleads and it ultimately backfires. It debases the coin of judgment. The rave review tends to make all plays seem equal. The stirring work of a master is frequently placed on the same plane as that of a lighthearted spoof. (If this is not literally so, the reviewer's fevered verbiage makes it seem so.) An attractive personality is placed in the same light as an accomplished player. There is surely a difference in the way we laugh at a Molière comedy and at one by Neil Simon? I am not here implying the superiority or inferiority of one to the other; I only wish to suggest that "raves" erase the possibility of differentiation, of specific insights, in a word, of *criticism*.

This does not mean that enthusiasm is, as George Jean Nathan once stated, unbecoming to the critic. He himself was occasionally rapturous about various dramatists, actors and directors. But I hold it to be true that the prime function of criticism is to define and illuminate. Criticism addresses itself, in the first place, to the clarification of the particular

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nature and quality of the examined object: the total performance. When a reviewer proclaims (rather typically) that a play "is most definitely the best, I mean the richest, most glowing, most charming comedy of the last few seasons. It's a sure hit. Something you must see!" I am sure he is being of inestimable service to the ticket broker, but I fear that he is deluding many theatregoers who will not see the play in a similar light. This is not at all a matter of my disagreeing with his judgment; it is simply that, apart from its fervent recommendation, I don't understand what is *specifically* being said about the play. As criticism it is at bottom no more enlightening than if a reviewer were to say that such a play is the best (or the worst) that has been seen on the uptown side of West 45th Street for years.

Virgil Thomson, once the most knowledgeable music critic writing for a daily, declares in his autobiography, "Description is the valid part of reviewing: spontaneous reaction, if courteously phrased, has some validity; opinions are mostly worthless." To say that a play is good (or bad) is an opinion, not criticism—even when a respected critic says it. Criticism tells us what a play imparts, what its content is (I do not mean its plot), what its aims are, what aspect of our being it seeks to touch, to what goals in feeling or thought, aspiration, tears or pleasures it strives.

It is not essential that we "agree" with a critic to estimate his worth; if he is truly qualified for his task, we may learn something of value from his fundamental outlook or viewpoint—assuming that he has one which does not change so often that we are at a loss to credit anything he has to say.

These points are no doubt arguable. What is much less so are the dangerous consequences of the auto-intoxicated rave. To express his satisfaction and his eagerness to have people see a certain play, a critic spoke of it as "joyous." The adjective might have been applied to, let us say, *Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado About Nothing* or even, if you please, *You Can't Take It With You*, but it was applied to a strenuously serious and rather difficult Pinter play.

What happens to the playgoer who enters the theatre in anticipation of "joy," in other words, a roaring good time? He is not simply disappointed; he is furious. The reviewer is no longer considered reliable. On next reading the same reviewer's columns (or for that matter any other reviewer's opinions), a reader may well regard the notice with suspicion or indifference. The rave review thus leads to diminishing returns. Readers of notices in the dailies will no longer be apt to flock to theatres to see plays which have been greeted by raves. A backlash will set in.

Criticism is not an exact science; obviously there are no absolutes in regard to it. There is no such thing as an impersonal critic. On the contrary, the critic makes himself far more intelligible and useful the more concisely he states the extent and limitations of his leading ideas, the emotional or philosophical premises on which his judgments are based. That is what Shaw, perhaps the finest of journalist critics in the English language, meant when he insisted that the critic ought to know and emphatically state his "prejudice."

Believing with Voltaire that theatregoing is one of the most civilized and civilizing occupations a person can engage in, I wish to see criticism helpful to the theatre. But the rave review makes the theatre sound more like a contest than an entertainment.

Critics can lead the playgoer to understand that plays need not be masterpieces to be worthy of careful attention. One may live and thrive in the arts short of

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the "best," and the "greatest," the "funniest," the "most thrilling," the "tremendous." A play need not be one "for the ages" to merit our respect. Even modest pastimes are not to be despised. It is not especially desirable that one should be knocked out, shattered, convulsed, transported on all occasions. Quiet satisfactions are to be prized. The act of perception and judgment of the average or ephemeral play is in itself an enhancement of one's vital capacities. □

Kibbutz Life: An Insider's View

ELSEWHERE, PERHAPS. *By Amos Oz. Translated from the Hebrew by Nicholas de Lange. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 309 pp. $7.95.*

WILLIAM NOVAK

At 34, Amos Oz has already emerged as one of Israel's leading writers. His renown stems largely from the reception given his second novel, *My Michael*, a psychological account of a middle-class woman living in Jerusalem. *Elsewhere, Perhaps* (*Makom Acher* in Hebrew) is Oz's first novel, which appeared in Israel some eight years ago. Its publication in this country should help to stimulate American appreciation of contemporary Israeli literature and society.

The novel's setting, as well as its subject, is the fictionalized kibbutz of Medsudat Ram, which is situated very close to one of Israel's four tense borders, and is populated by immigrants from Germany and Russia. Oz, who himself lives on a kibbutz, teaching in a high school, gives us an insider's view of a tightly cemented and remarkably cohesive society which is almost entirely self-sufficient and quite removed from the rest of the country. Medsudat Ram is small even by kibbutz standards, small enough to allow for intimacy among its members. But it is big enough, nevertheless, to contain within it virtually all of the novel's action. All of the characters in the story are either members of the kibbutz or their relatives; they are so involved in one another's lives that it is no easy matter to keep them all straight.

Reuven Harish is at the center of the story. He is a teacher and he volunteers to act as a guide to groups of tourists who visit Medsudat Ram. This, in spite of—or perhaps because of—the fact that his own wife has run off with a tourist, a distant relative, and now lives with him in Germany. To escape his loneliness, Reuven Harish has entered into an affair with Bronka Berger, whose husband Ezra is the kibbutz truckdriver. A large, silent man who generally limits his conversation to Biblical citations or remarks about the Jewish sages, Berger is neither educated nor intellectual. In almost any other novel he would be ridiculous, but in an Israeli context, he runs a different risk: that of being a stereotype. Other characters border on stereotypes as well; this is, after all, an imperfect first novel. But for the most part they transcend their occasionally crude outlines and come alive as fully developed and believable people.

Someone else who runs the risk of being a stereotype is Reuven Harish's dark-eyed and mysterious daughter, Noga, an adolescent who provokes an affair with Ezra Berger, becomes pregnant by him, and insists upon having his child. In the midst of these unpleasant circumstances, which occupy the first half of the novel, the kibbutz receives a visitor, Ezra Berger's brother Siegfried, who lives in Germany. Siegfried Berger is a confused and dangerous man, and the arrival of this Satan in an already troubled Eden serves to draw the kibbutz members even closer together in an attempt to prevail upon their visitor to leave. He does leave, in the end, but only after irreparable damage has been done.

All of this sounds somewhat sordid, but the story engages our sympathies because of the compelling sincerity and moral concerns of the characters, and because of the extent to which this is really the story of an entire society. So close are the bonds linking the group that individual experience is inevitably a reflection of the collective fate. Moreover, the reader too is gradually assimilated into the community—first as a tourist, though one who is privileged not only to see the sights but to learn the inner thoughts and feelings of the characters. We understand how privacy is almost unknown here, but we also feel the sense of personal security and the strength of the human bonds that hold the group together. Still, there is a nagging sense of confinement. Not only is escape impossible within the kibbutz, but variety is sorely lacking. When the evening papers are handed out, there is sometimes a bit of political conversation. But, as the narrator informs us, "it never develops into a heated argument, because fundamentally we all share the same outlook on the world."

What the narrator fails to make explicit we soon discover on our own; the community's mode of discourse is gossip. In that way the society is apprised of itself, and it is not a product of malice or curiosity so much as a result of the concern of each member for every other member. Repeatedly and defensively, the narrator tells us that in this context, in this society, gossip is essential, normal, even healthy and necessary. Gossip is called "the collaborator in this story," and the reader, who is somewhat annoyingly addressed in the second person, is continually put into the awkward position of an eavesdropper. But it is a most effective device because it is so involving, and because it induces us to believe in the characters. The narrator is right, even if he does protest too much.

One day, while he is leading a tourist group through the kibbutz, Reuven Harish is told by an old Dutch colonel that the mountain is about to fall upon Israel and crush it. Harish knows that the notion is preposterous, that, as he later formulates his response, Israel obeys a different law of gravity. But uncertainty about the future is always present just under the surface. Even during a time of no declared war there is also no real peace. Oz is critical of the

William Novak, a young writer living in Boston, is editor of Response, *an independent Jewish review.*

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growing militarization of Israeli society, although he understands its causes; in part the novel is a political and social commentary on the place of the army in Israel, and the inevitable influence of military values upon civilian life.

Although it is never mentioned explicitly, the Arab threat is present throughout the novel, which presumably takes place around 1960, before the two most recent wars which have changed everything and nothing. While Oz does not go deeply into the relationship between Jew and Arab, he does begin to explore the tragedy in which they are equally involved. He touches upon it most effectively in an episode in which the beam of the kibbutz searchlight directly faces the light operated by the enemy across the border:

> The two powerful lamps pointed their jets of light straight at each other's eye, as if trying to dazzle the other to death. . . .
>
> The two beams of light remained locked in a furious embrace, piercing each other's eyes, bitter and stubborn, like knives poised for murder or like drunken lovers.

Another relationship between Israel and an enemy provides an even darker motif; the backdrop of the recent past, the holocaust which occurred just prior to the founding of Israel, is essential to any understanding of modern Israeli society. Three of the characters of the novel have made their home in Germany since World War II. Eva, Reuven's wife, has moved to Munich with her new husband, and together with Ezra Berger's brother Siegfried, they run a cabaret. Siegfried is a convenient embodiment of those values which Israelis associate with the Diaspora: insecurity, materialism, vulgarity, cowardice. Israel, as its writers and social critics are not slow to point out, has not succeeded in leaving all of these undesirable qualities behind, and may in fact have developed some new problems in its effort to escape the old ones. Still, the kibbutz, despite some ideological backsliding over the past fifty years, remains at least a partial haven.

Medsudat Ram, in fact, is quite literally that—a haven for its members. Into it comes Siegfried Berger. This Jew who has returned to Germany, an act almost unimaginable to those European Jews who have found a new life in Israel, is wealthy, ostentatious, vulgar, lecherous and deceitful. The kibbutz members whose lives he invades are unselfishly committed to communal socialism; above all, they are honest and open with one another. What brings Siegfried to Israel is not so much the desire to visit his family on the kibbutz as his business —he has come to find performers for his Munich night club. He discovers and signs on three attractive girls who are to stand with machine guns on a dimly lit stage, "trampling on an enemy soldier who writhes and grovels and kisses [their] feet. It'll send them wild." Oz here begins to explore a dark and hitherto forbidden area, the relationship of Jews and Germans in the aftermath of the holocaust. *Siegfried* may be a despicable creature, but he is highly intelligent, and he understands how to exploit that relationship and enrich himself thereby:

> The public was crying out for piquant novelties. The Germans were eager to taste the choice fruits of the land, the piquant flavor of the new Israel. They were excited by men with breasts, singing fish, white Negroes, and Israeli Jews—non-Jewish Jews.

Non-Jewish Jews. The phrase is no accident, and one of Oz's chief concerns is clearly the nature of Israeli society. Moved by the new developments that Israeli life has already produced, Oz is nevertheless critical of many aspects of Israeli society, although his criticism is tempered with love. *Elsewhere, Perhaps* is an engaging story, but more important, it illuminates the emerging character of a nation that represents a new phenomenon in the history of the Jews and of the world. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Come summer, the New York museums bring part of their permanent collections up into the public area. A few years ago this traditional exercise gave exhausted curators a pause from devising new temporary exhibitions; now it is a way to save money. There are two summer compilations, one at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum and one at the Whitney Museum, which can be considered both for the pleasure they give and for what they imply about a museum's function. These shows from storage raise interesting questions, because they reveal assumptions about culture and about the past in relation to the present. This is relevant to the older generations (not necessarily very old), which have seen the works before and want to consult them again, and to a new generation which will be seeing the masterpieces of summer for the first time.

In one respect, museums are like universities and libraries. Karl Jaspers in *The Idea of the University* proposes that the value of the liberal arts is what they reveal "of the substance of the human

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past, a participation in tradition, a knowledge of the breadth of human possibilities." With this in mind it is possible to look at the plums of the past and develop just such a sense of continuous heritage. The Guggenheim show, called "Concentrations I," can be used in this way.

A beautiful array of Brancusi sculptures, looking much more at home in Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture than the group at the Museum of Modern Art does in its cubicles. Chagall: to the extent that he is interesting it is for the early period, which is what is shown here—the paintings done after leaving Russia, showing him responding naïvely to the impact of Paris. Delaunay's architectural iconography is exceptionally well seen, from the 1909 "St. Severin," through three Eiffel Towers, 1909 to 1914, and three urban patchwork quilts referring to windows and roofs. Klee is notable, not so much because of the presence of major works as for the sustained excellence of forty-odd relatively unfamiliar works. It amounts to a fresh sight of this underrated artist (underrated in the United States, that is). Kandinsky probably looks all right to first-time viewers, but to "returnees" the chronological display is overfamiliar. Since the museum still has ample Kandinskys (despite its sales) it would have done better to avoid the by-now banal succession and concentrate on the latter geometric paintings (as part of the revival of interest in complex, as opposed to unitary, geometry). Sound groups of Léger and Mondrian. A good range of Franz Marc, not only the "White Bull" and the "Yellow Cow" but solidly wrought gouaches as well. The museum's Marcs suggest that the German view of him may not be an overestimation after all. The Guggenheim's collection of Picasso (which includes the marvelous "Accordionist" of 1911 and the merely famous "Mandolin and Guitar" of 1924) has been augmented by bits from the Thannhauser collection. This makes possible a gap-toothed sequence of Picasso's work running over forty years, but the Thannhauser pictures, once past the Blue period, are trivial items.

The way I wrote above assumes a view of culture that I am sharing with the museum, a culture in which, for example, Picasso's "Accordionist" represents an agreed-on point of mysterious order. However I do not really believe in the masterpiece theory, which has the effect of isolating one work from others in history and conferring excessive meaning upon it. (For the same reason I am against the genius theory, which makes certain individuals discontinuous with their peers and with history.) Thus my summer soliloquy is a compact with the museum, not simply a pure contact with timeless art. I reveal myself as a returnee, for one thing, and I accept a given view of art history which confers values on these artifacts as opposed to other sets of objects. Thus I am setting aside cultural alternatives and, on the whole, am willing to do so. I don't think, with the Art Workers' Coalition, that "a section of all museums under the direction of black and Puerto Rican artists should be devoted to showing accomplishments of black and Puerto Rican artists." The desire to enforce equality resembles the optimistic American tyranny that a common political system is applicable to all countries. Thus I believe neither that the history of European modernism represents an absolute nor that a mix of every claimant is the proper object of museum acquisition. Numerous specializations, shared among different institutions, are the form of a democratic society; the homogenization of all institutions is not.

The only way that standards can be maintained on a flexible basis is by specialization. Take the summer show at the Whitney: if it were wide open to every claim made upon it, the situation would be that all shows were aimed at first-generation visitors, and the "returnees," aware of Jaspers' "possibilities," would be continually frustrated. The Whitney has the function of conserving American art, within the limits of easel painting, sculpture and works on paper; as such, it can be checked and tested. If it became an open emporium, acts of analysis would be impossible, and on this basis I have some complaints to make about the show.

The exhibition is called "The 20th Century: 35 Americans" and based on the arbitrary qualification of showing those artists who are represented by at least five works in the permanent collection. This turns out to be a mistake, as when, for example, one consequential work is seen on the wall surrounded by lesser pieces. Charles Demuth's "My Egypt" is there, looking as good as it does in the textbooks, but supported only by drawings, nice enough but light in comparison to the painting. It is the same with Marsden Hartley: one of the decisive insignia paintings of 1914-15 is there, but accompanied by works of lower intensity from weaker periods. Philip Evergood, Edward Hopper, Maurice Prendergast, Ben Shahn and John Sloan support the showing of multiple works, but it appears either that many of the artists were patchy, that the Whitney does not possess a consistently good selection of their work, or that famous pictures, known from constant reproduction, assert themselves over less celebrated works. Other artists like Guy Pêne du Bois, Charles Burchfield and Max Weber are revealed in their protracted feebleness. Louise Nevelson is represented by three assemblages, a free-standing spiky black one, a gold wall and a plastic piece tilted like a rocket launching ramp, as well as a recent lithograph, one of her spiritless exercises in fumbled Synthetic Cubism.

Not all five works by each artist have been hung, but looking over the later artists, strengths and weaknesses of the collection seem clearly indicated. The early Helen Frankenthaler, "Blue Territory" (1955), is uncharacteristically ruffled by expressionistic brushwork, but "Flood" (1967) shows her flatter late style to advantage. De Kooning's "Woman and Bicycle" (1952-53) maintains its place as one of the best of his earlier women—which means, so far as I am concerned, it is one of the best paintings. The condensed reference to the woman with a bicycle on the right of Picasso's "Night Fishing at Antibes" is an allusion nourished almost secretly within the apparently spontaneous paint storm. "Door to the River" (1960) is one of de Kooning's simple-planed, large-brushed landscapes: I remember that Barnett Newman defended the picture once by drawing attention to its greater than average flatness in de Kooning's canon, and that's true.

William Baziotes, a subtle painter, appears weakly represented and Conrad Marca Relli, a crude artist, appears at his best; this produces an odd disparity. Every collection has its unavoidable ups and downs: the piecemeal way in which works are acquired makes this a fact of life. That being well known, a better organizing principle than that adopted this summer was called for. But over and above all this, Gorky's "The Artist and his Mother" and "The Betrothal, II" are among the works that do, precisely, remind us of the life of the past within the present. And that is still a prime function of the permanent collection of museums. □

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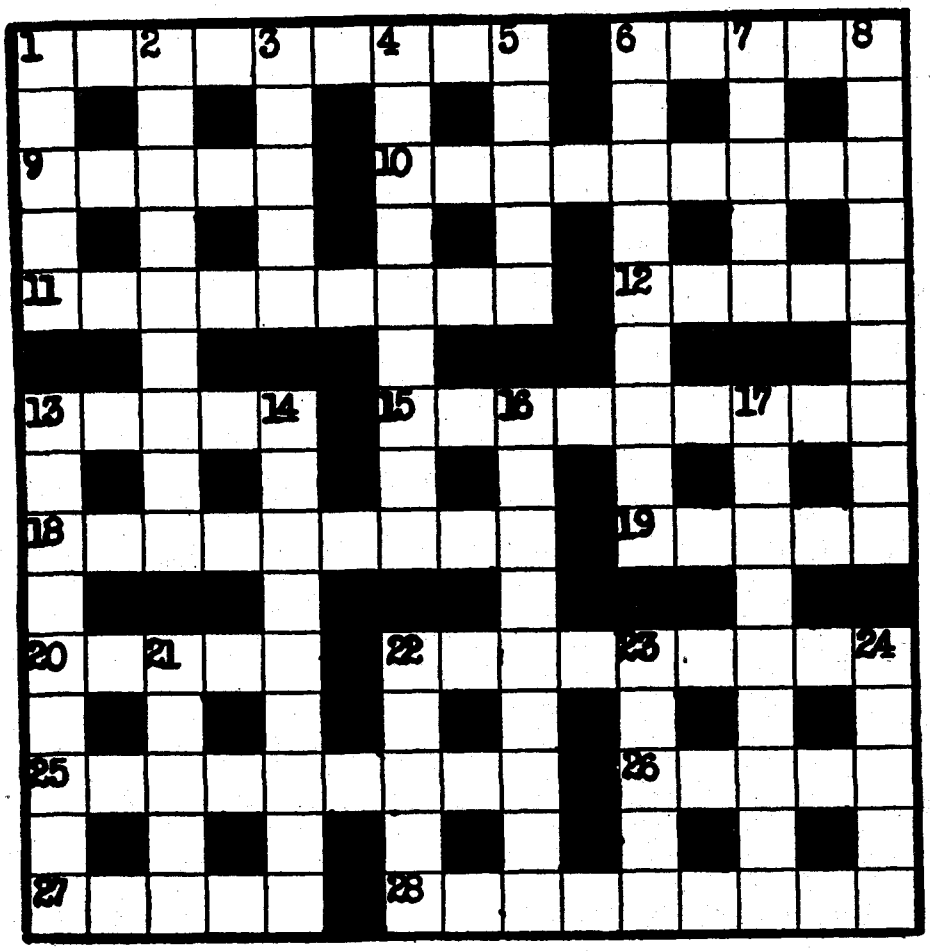

ACROSS

1 Support the Wolves? On the trail they might be support enough. (4-5)
6 See 1 down
9 No one seems left out, regardless of being tired. (3-2)
10 And almost everyone gets found to be passed out. (9)
11 What one usually has to do to eggs and seafood—seafood in particular. (9)
12 Big business abandons the attempt to get something flowing abroad. (5)
13 and 15 Evidently one likes the comparative shape of those from Cremona, typically. (2,3,2,1,6)
18 Green and ripe varieties could be foreign, though bird-like. (9)
19 The Roman type would be less likely to turn up. (5)
20 and 23 down Match the work of Wagner, for example, with the work of such as von Suppe. (5,5)
22 Does it imply moving up in favor of what might be voted on? (9)
25 Ahead of time, it's what many a tennis player desires—to be good. (9)
26 Coming from a seed, progressed gently. (5)
27 Dvorak, for example, is not an eccentric. (5)
28 Like the one Wagner considered flying? (9)

DOWN

1 and 6 across Evidently even serious people have to descend to them. (5,5)
2 Appropriate, but not delivered. (6,3)
3 A plane crash usually demands a flat surface. (5)
4 Certainly not the most tender of serenades. (9)
5 The spirit of the air. (5)
6 In general, one occasionally finds the makings of a great one. (9)
7 Summoned by name. (5)
8 Its speeds appear varied, in the way one avoids. (9)
13 and 21 Evidently the spirit isn't colorful by comparison. (2,4,2,1,5)
14 A thing the person in control might be expected to keep. (5,4)
16 Pertaining to certain tissue in 19. (9)
17 Let go, perhaps. (9)
21 See 13 down
22 This fruit can always be found sort of inexpensive. (5)
23 See 20 across
24 Appropriately, he always comes up with a salient feature. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1549

ACROSS: 1 Taking turns; 9 Stingers; 10 and 22 Yehudi Menuhin; 11 Install; 12 Assures; 14 Astray; 15 Hesitate; 17 Declarer; 20 Deacon; 24 Missing; 26 Denies; 28 Investments. DOWN: 2 Au naturel; 3 Ideally; 4 Gust; 5 Ulysses; 6 Nehru; 8 Advent; 13 and 27 Short subjects; 16 Transient; 18 Eyelet; 19 Reissue; 20 Dribble; 21 Ornate; 23 Union; 25 and 7 As it stands.

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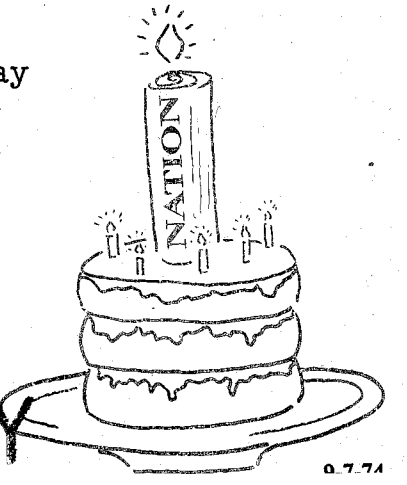

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